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TOWARD A WORKABLE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDIVIDUALITY¹

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University of Oregon

AS long as I can remember, I have been fascinated by human individuality. To me it has always seemed a strange and wonderful thing that every person is indeed unique. The attempt to comprehend this uniqueness—to grasp what is the distinctive quality in another person's life—is a common thread that has run through my experience with literature and music, counseling and therapy, and the psychology of individual differences. It is tied in also with my research on the meaning of likes and dislikes in children and adults. Out of the interaction between these major concerns in my own life has come a set of ideas with a certain amount of coherence and pattern, a product somewhat different from any of the raw materials that went into it. It is this product, rough and unfinished as it is, that I should like to place before you.

It was hard to decide what to call it. It is not complete or rigorous enough to be considered a theory. It is not close enough to the evidence that generated it to be considered a research report. Its is essentially a different set, a different approach to familiar facts. Because it is this change in direction that I wished to chart, I decided just to do what various other recent authors have done and begin my title with the noncommittal word "Toward."

Individuality has many champions these days. "Conformity" has become almost a nasty word. "Adjustment," for years a central concept in psychology and mental hygiene, is coming to be regarded with suspicion. Riesman's portrayal of other-directedness seems to have stimulated in most of his readers a firm resolve not to be that way. Lindner's prescription for rebellion woke echoes in thousands of psyches. Colin Wilson's collection of "outsiders" was lauded by reviewers and critics. Right now practically everyone is recoiling in horror from Whyte's picture of the

organization man. An increasing number of existentialist novelists and playwrights are highlighting the individual's search for his own identity. In intellectual circles, at least, it is getting so that a person must be something of a nonconformist in order to conform to the prevailing standards. But I am afraid something like the much-quoted weather remark applies here: Everybody talks about individuality, but nobody does anything about it.

This is where the psychologists come in. What we have often been able to do is to take an idea that teachers, politicians, playwrights, philosophers, or theologians were concerned with, and make it *workable*. I do not mean this in any narrow sense. When I say a workable psychology of individuality, I mean one that would generate good research ideas, which, in turn, would lead to steady increases in dependable knowledge. I mean one that would produce a technology of assessment useful to clinical workers, teachers, and personnel men. I mean one that could be applied in the day-to-day activities of people who are not psychologists, such as diplomats, business men, and construction foremen. The problem as I see it is: How can we modify the system of psychological principles and skills that are now being applied in all these situations so that the uniqueness of the individual is really taken into account?

In differential psychology we have been concerned with this for something like 60 years. We have worked out techniques for measuring hundreds of traits. We have attempted to match particular individuals with particular situations, in schools, in industry, and in military settings. We have developed skills that enable us to help individuals make their decisions, solve their problems. Out of this activity has come a sort of model that we use in thinking about the general phenomena of individuality. The basic concept is that of dimension. Each of the traits that have been identified can be thought of as an axis along which any one person's position can be located. In this system the

¹ Condensed and adapted from the Presidential Address to the Western Psychological Association, delivered in Monterey, California, on April 25, 1958.

uniqueness of the individual is defined by his *combination* of measurements along all possible dimensions. A person is represented by a point in n -dimensional space. No one else occupies exactly the same position.

Useful as this approach has been, I have found myself questioning more and more whether it is really adequate at this stage in the development of our science. For one thing, it does not *feel* quite right. Most people find it hard to think of themselves as points in n -dimensional space. Occasionally I encounter an unusually articulate student who reacts violently against the whole conception, and I think that at a lower level of awareness many of the others show a kind of passive resistance to it. For another thing, the system shows signs of becoming completely unworkable, in the sense I have defined workability, because of the proliferation of dimensions. It looked for a time as though factor analysis would enable us to simplify it, but there are now so many factors and their relationships with each other are so complex that factory theory does not really constitute a simplification. But the most important reason I see for questioning the adequacy of this way of looking at things is that we are no longer making the progress with it that we have a right to expect. Correlations with criteria significant for theory or for practice are not going up very much. Seldom do we find a cross-validated multiple correlation with any criterion that exceeds .6. The addition of new dimensions and the increasing refinement in the ways we measure the old ones are not really "paying off" very well. The possibility is at least worth considering that we are approaching the limit of what can be done with this particular system.

In the more general psychology of personality, not all research workers and theorists have been particularly concerned with the question of individual uniqueness and how it can best be conceptualized. But a number of them have considered this problem, and developed some potentially useful ways of looking at it. Holistic Gestalt theories have never accepted the additive assumptions made in trait and factor work and have stressed individuality of pattern or organization. The Freudian conception of developmental stages has furnished one framework for analyzing differences between individuals. The Freudian concept of defense mechanisms, differentially developed in

different persons, constitutes another such framework. The whole concept of cathexis and object choice would seem to furnish an even richer system within which the uniqueness of individuals could be described. Adler's concept of style of life is a way of thinking about individuality. So are Jung's psychological types. Gordon Allport has maintained a continuous emphasis on the ideographic as contrasted with the nomothetic. Henry Murray's system for detailed intensive study of individuals has been a dominant influence in personality research for more than 20 years.

When one examines these concepts drawn from personality theory to see which ones are really workable, however, it becomes plain that hardly any of them have as yet led to what one might call an adequate *technology*. By and large, the vast majority of so-called personality *tests* are measures either of general maladjustment, the extent to which an individual deviates from some hypothetical average of general "normality," or they are measures of the particular *variety* of neurotic or psychotic trends he shows. The utilization of the other theoretical treatments of individuality has been spotty and haphazard. A number of workers, for example, have tried to measure introversion-extraversion, but they have not taken into account the rest of the Jungian system for describing individuals. There have been attempts to make dimensions of Freudian oral and anal systems, but no one has really utilized the cathexis concept as a basis for standardized techniques of individual assessment. Of the personality theorists, Murray has come closest to developing a usable technology. A number of other workers, such as Allen Edwards, have devised ways of measuring the different needs or motives which are the most basic variables in the Murray system.

Even in cases like this, however, where concepts from personality theory have led to methods for the appraisal of the individual, the assumption is still being made that differences between persons can be measured in terms of traits or dimensions. A score on a personality test purports to tell how far the testee is above or below the mean of some reference group. This kind of comparison in terms of trait measurements is involved even in projective tests, although when they are used, the final clinical report may add some extra nonquantitative descriptions.

What I have been coming to believe is that in-

dividuality will continue to elude us as long as we restrict our thinking to models based on dimensions or trait continua. Little by little, evidence has been accumulating that some of the crucial defining features of psychological individuality are to be found in two aspects of experience and behavior that are not easily expressed as dimensions and that can best be thought of as *discontinuous*. I call these two aspects of individuality *choice* and *organization*, though I am by no means certain that these are the best labels. But whether the terms are adequate or not, I hope at least to be able to tell you what I mean by them.

Partly what led me to a reorganization of my ideas about individuality around these concepts was a sort of inherent reasonableness about them. With the swift passage of the years one becomes acutely aware that human life is finite. It lasts only a limited time, and each person has only a limited number of hours each day at his disposal. Only a small fraction of the potentialities with which his life begins can ever become realities. By the time his infancy is over, a considerable number of them have already been ruled out by the fact that he has spent his most formative years in one particular kind of home rather than another. But the person is still confronted at each step of his life with an incredibly complex assortment of stimulating conditions and behavior possibilities. In order to function at all, each of us must choose from this plethora of possibilities and organize what he has chosen.

Consider, for example, Barker's report on the Midwest study (Barker & Wright, 1955). If even in one little town there are 585 distinguishable behavior settings, 60 to 79% of them open to children, and if during the course of a single day one child engages in almost 2,500 behavior transactions with 749 different behavior objects, the *possibilities* for influence that might help to determine individuality are absolutely staggering. It seems plausible to me to assume that one of the main things that happens as the boy or girl interacts with this complex milieu is that he develops patterns of choices that serve to let some things in and to keep others out. If to this screening function we add some sort of organizational process acting upon the experience choice has admitted, we begin to come close to the meaning of individuality. In counseling and therapy we are actually using this sort of conceptualization in our attempts to

understand clients, although it is not always expressed very clearly, and, as we shall see, some research workers have been developing methods of assessment that can be considered pilot projects on the way to a new technology.

Let us then take a look at choice and organization separately, realizing as we do so that they are not independent and do not actually occur separately. I have mentioned that I do not think choice is a very good word for the phenomenon, but I have not been able to think of a better one. Perhaps some other figurative statements can serve to make its meaning clearer, however. I have compared it a moment ago to a screen. This is really too fixed and static a picture. We might see life instead as a restaurant with a large number of items on the menu from which two or three are to be selected. Or we might take our cue from the poets who have seen life as a road, which forks every now and then requiring that the traveler go in one direction or the other.

All these analogies have the merit of reminding us that a person's life is always bounded by limits of one kind or another. He is not free to do anything he wants to or to go in any direction. I do not think it is necessary to get into the old controversy over determinism versus free will at all. Certainly at any one time a large number of behavior possibilities are ruled out by external circumstances, by personal inadequacies, and by previous commitments. But within these analyzable limits there is a larger or smaller space in which movement of different sorts is possible. It is this movement in one direction rather than another, within defining limits, that I am calling choice.

It seems clear to me also that a large part of the choice process is unconscious. The individual's choice of the aspects of a complex stimulating situation to which he will respond is a universal process, constantly going on. It is only the small part of it of which we are aware that we call freedom. In a very real sense it *is* freedom, because in human choices, awareness makes a difference. It changes the nature of the total situation and thus leads to choices that may be different from those that would have been made unconsciously. And in this small margin of difference that awareness makes lies our best hope for progress in living our own lives wisely and helping those it is our responsibility to help.

A workable psychology of individuality would provide us with ways of recognizing significant patterns of choices that have been made at previous stages of life, consciously or unconsciously, and of widening the margin of awareness in any individual's present experience. To accomplish this we need a different approach, a different kind of assessment from the customary measurements of traits or dimensions. Let us go back for a moment to our restaurant analogy. Two men are having dinner together. One orders jambalaya, artichokes, and crepe suzette. The other orders fried chicken, corn on the cob, and apple pie. Conceivably we could scale the degree of liking for each of these foods and compare the two men on these several scales. But if we did just this, we would miss the main distinction here. It is the choice of the particular *combination* of foods, jambalaya and artichokes and crepe suzette, or chicken and corn and apple pie that reveals something about each person. Measuring the strength of these preferences is unnecessary and irrelevant.

It is here, in connection with the assessment of the meaning of combinations of choices, that the research activity on which I have been principally engaged enters the picture. In one way or another I have been dealing for some 20 years with the responses men and women, boys and girls make to Like and Dislike items on the blanks we have been calling interest tests. But it was not until a couple of months ago that it suddenly dawned on me that the major significance of all of this work is that it points the way to a kind of assessment quite different from trait measurement, namely, the direct assessment of choice patterns. True, we have been expressing what we found in terms of traits or dimensions that we labeled "interest in science," "masculinity-femininity," or "occupational level." But when we did this, the findings never fit the labels very well. On the Strong test, for example, the correlations of the numerical scores people make on the various scales with criteria purporting to represent degrees of success and satisfaction have almost always turned out to be rather low. The really impressive relationships Strong (1955) has obtained in his 20-year follow-up of Stanford students have been based on *letter grades* as predictors of a special kind of criterion—that of remaining in the original occupation vs. shifting to another.

The letter grades on the Strong are derived from

the scores but carry a different meaning from customary trait measurements. An "A" means "Yes" with regard to the question of whether a certain person belongs in a certain occupation, a "C" means "No," and a "B" means "We cannot be sure." We can relate these grades to the concept of choice we have been considering by putting it this way: An A signifies that the person's characteristic pattern of acceptance and rejection of life's varied possibilities is like the choice pattern characteristic of persons in a certain occupation. What we should expect then to be able to predict from such a score is not how well the person will do the work of his chosen occupation, or how much satisfaction he will express with his job, but simply the way he will make his choices at later junctures of his life. This makes sense of the high degree of validity Strong's recent studies have shown for the test. What they are telling us is that an indicator of the nature of an individual's complex pattern of choices in the occupational area predicts well later complex choices in the same area.

My own special research activities have focused on an attempt to trace such choice patterns backward into childhood rather than forward into maturity. In 1946 I entered upon a longitudinal study of about 200 children, beginning at the time they entered school. The first half of this group is graduating from high school this year. They have taken the Strong test each year during the high school period, so that I have a clear picture of what their interests are like now at the end of adolescence. I am attempting to relate these interest patterns (or choice patterns, as I should now prefer to call them) to various personality characteristics, background factors, and special abilities, measured now and at earlier periods of the subjects' lives.

At the outset I was thinking of each of the variables as a trait and planning to correlate them with one another. The shift to this concept of choice patterns has changed my plans for analyzing the data. The appropriate type of measurement for these problems is *nominal*, not ordinal or interval—that is, simple categorization rather than continuous distribution. And to relate one of these choice categories to another, the appropriate statistic is not correlation, but some nonparametric significance test leading to a statement of probabilities. What this means concretely so far as my particular body of data is concerned is that I will classify my sub-

jects in various ways, based on their final Strong scores, and then ask specific questions of the data from earlier stages. For example, I shall place all boys whose scores point to the choice of some science career in one group, those who definitely are not in the science group in another. I will then tabulate other test results and biographical data for these groups, using total scores, subscores, and in some cases separate items, and look for patterns or combinations of characteristics related to this particular choice pattern. (Such findings will of course need to be cross-validated. For some of the relationships, supplementary data on other groups not in the main test results will serve this purpose; in other cases extra studies will need to be run.)

The main point I am trying to make here is that to work out a technology of choice measurement we must use classifications with regard to choices rather than continua, validate our assessments using choice criteria rather than measures of degrees of happiness or success, and state the relationships as probabilities that one thing will lead to another rather than as correlation coefficients. The work with the Strong Vocational Interest Blank is important to all of us who are concerned about personality assessment not just because it has a great deal of demonstrated practical value, but because it demonstrates that this kind of assessment, of choice patterns rather than traits, does work. Eventually we may have many such assessment devices, covering a much wider variety of patterned choices. Measures of preferences, values, and attitudes would seem to be clearly in this area, but as yet we are still trying to score and interpret them as traits or dimensions.

The work with the Strong test demonstrates that we need not abandon the concept of predictive validity when we shift from traits to discontinuous patterns of choices. The only difference is that we need to find criteria that represent choices rather than distances along some scale. There are many of these. My impression is that criteria are far less of a problem here than in customary validation studies. In the academic area they would include things like staying in school vs. dropping out, selecting one major rather than another, choosing "easy" or "hard" electives, going in for social success or for academic success. In a broader social framework, choice criteria would include such things as suing for divorce vs. attempting to work out marital problems, or parole keeping vs.

violation. Choice criteria in the clinical area would include such things as the development of one kind of symptom rather than another, or the decision to seek psychotherapy vs. reliance on tranquilizers. These have all been used in research but not for the purpose for which they would seem to be particularly appropriate—research on the relationship of choice patterns to one another.

It is quite feasible, then, for us to carry on research that will enable us eventually to make much sounder inferences about individuals by observing what they choose. But this is only part of the story. I have been convinced, primarily as a result of my counseling activities, that the *how* is as important as the *what*. There are several aspects of choice we must consider. I have already touched briefly on the matter of differences in *awareness*. To understand an individual we must know how conscious he is of the choices he is making. Another aspect probably related to this is the age or developmental stage at which the first step in this direction was taken. It seems probable that some of the most important choices of all are made in the earliest years, long before the child is clearly aware of the direction he is taking. Whether to be active or passive in one's encounters with life, whether to seek security through dependence or independence, whether to relate oneself to persons or nonpersons (to use Anne Roe's terms), these are the kinds of fundamental early choices I have in mind. Research on concepts of sex role seems to show that a basic decision to accept one's own sex and to live by the code that goes with it is often made by the age of three. The Freudian concept of cathexis is clearly relevant here. Existentialist writers like Sartre have also emphasized unconscious choices and their significance in personality.

Another aspect of choice, perhaps somewhat easier to study, is the question of whether it has been made positively or negatively. It may make a considerable difference in the quality of an individual's life whether the choices that constitute its basic structure have been made by grasping what one wants or by rejecting what one does not want. I ran into this problem years ago when I first began to work with blanks calling for Like and Dislike responses. I became convinced that this negative choice process is far more significant in human life than we are assuming it to be. If we examine the scoring weights for most scales of

the Strong test we find that so-called interest scores are based more on what we reject or rule out than on what we wish to do. Dislikes influence scores more than Likes do. My work with children in grade school suggests that interest development is primarily a matter of learning to rule out clusters of things and activities one once liked.

There are probably clear-cut individual differences in this area of positive vs. negative choices, and they would be well worth some special study. In our own profession, for example, it is conceivable that some of us are here because no other direction for our efforts was open to us. We needed to avoid, say, low prestige, low pay, mathematics, routine activities, and religious dogma. When we got through ruling out the occupations that would not do for one or another of these reasons, we found ourselves in a graduate psychology program. Others of us may be here because of an intense curiosity about human behavior and motivation, a strong urge to try out different experimental procedures and see what happens. Probably most of us have some of both kinds of motivation. Probably most of us score A on the Strong key for Psychologist, but that in itself does not show whether positive or negative choices predominate, since there are different combinations of items that will produce such a score.

Another of these "How" questions in which I am interested has to do with the *basis* upon which choices have been made. Do they grow out of identification with a parent or some other significant person? Do they reflect the point of view of some group to which the person belongs? Have they been influenced by particular experiences or by specific kinds of information? How much thoughtful consideration of possible alternatives has gone into them?

There is one more aspect of choice as a clue to individuality which is in some ways the most important of all, though it is the hardest to investigate. I mean the question as to how *central* or deeply rooted any given pattern of choice is for an individual. It is these basic *unalterable* choices that give a person a firm sense of self. Just making choices with regard to separate objects and actions is not enough. It is necessary that a person in some way *choose to be himself*. The idea is beautifully expressed in the words Yourcenar attributes to Hadrian in the novel *Hadrian's Memoirs*:

Whatever I had I chose to have, obliging myself only to possess it totally, and to taste the experience to the full. . . . And it is in such a way, with a mixture of reserve and of daring, of submission and revolt carefully concerted, of extreme demand and prudent concession, that I have finally learned to accept myself.

There is no dearth of discussion of self concepts, self-acceptance, and identity in psychology today. What I have been thinking about a great deal is how to make these ideas more "workable." Here too I think we can use interest tests as tools for work on the larger problem.

To sum up, the thing that distinguishes the kinds of research studies I have been using as examples from much of the previous work on individual differences in personality is a design based on classification rather than measurement (or on nominal rather than interval measures, if we wish to use Stevens' terminology). We select a group that appears to be homogeneous with regard to one particular aspect of their choices. By contrasting them with another group, we can obtain evidence about what this aspect of choice means—the kind of previous experience that is associated with it, the kind of subsequent choice behavior to which it leads. But because we are interested in the choices made by *individuals*, we will not stop with the statement that a relationship is significant at a given probability level but will attempt also to explore the differences between the persons who do and those who do not follow the prevailing trend.

I hope that nothing I have said will be taken to mean that I think we should discard the measuring techniques we now have for appraising the individual, or the knowledge that has accumulated from their use. Certainly the differences in physical and biochemical characteristics, that can be measured with considerable accuracy and expressed as continuous variables, are very significant. The research that has been going on for many years at the California Institute for Child Welfare has shown us how meaningful such a variable as age of reaching sexual maturity can be when we try to understand individual growth patterns. Certainly the differences in mental abilities and achievements that we pick up by means of our standardized tests represent important components of individuality. What I am trying to suggest is that, when we have recognized that there are choice patterns that are *not* continuous variables, we will be able to *utilize*

more effectively all the resources we now have. We can still use our measures of physical characteristics, intelligence, special abilities, and personality traits to give us an approximate picture of an individual. The information about his distinctive patterns of choices will enable us to sketch in the finer lines of his portrait—to make it definitive.

As I stated in the beginning, individual uniqueness for me is described primarily in terms of *choice* and *organization*, and I consider it the task of psychologists to make those concepts workable—to bring them into the general stream of thinking in research, assessment, and practical activities. I have used up about nine-tenths of my time talking about choice. This is not because I consider it the more important of the two, but simply because my own research activity has been in that area and I have done more thinking about it. Fortunately, an increasing number of psychologists have been presenting interesting new methods of assessing the ways individuals organize their experience. Perhaps the best known of these methods is Stevenson's *Q* sort. Other sorting techniques, originally developed as research tools in the study of concepts, now are being applied to the study of individuals. George Kelly's Role Construct Repertory Test is an ingenious way of finding out something about the organization of the persons's relationships to other people who are significant in his life. Osgood's semantic differential represents still another approach to the assessment of individual pat-

terns of organization. While a number of other things could be mentioned, perhaps these examples are sufficient to indicate directions I should like to have us move in our attempts to understand individuality.

There are many related areas we might consider if time permitted. We might turn to the experimental work on choice and decision in general psychology. We might look at the flourishing new mathematics of decision processes. We might attempt to relate some philosophical systems to these ideas. We might take up the implications of these ideas for psychotherapy and education.

What interests me most right now, however, is the significance of concepts of choice and organization in an inclusive psychology of the *development* of the human individual. We are coming to see development as a lifelong process in which choice and organization play a crucial part. In a certain sense each person is a "self-made man." At each stage of our lives, we impose limits on the next stage, by the choices we make and the ways in which we organize what we have experienced. There is an important something that each individual must do for himself.

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REPORT ON APA'S INCOME PROTECTION PLAN: ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIGHER WEEKLY BENEFITS AND OF EXPANDED COVERAGE

APPROXIMATELY 3,500 APA members¹ have a direct personal interest in the APA's income protection plan. Their interest stems from the fact that, since the plan went into operation in May 1956, they have paid some \$473,000.00 as premiums. But at least that many other APA members who are not now in the plan also have an interest in answers to questions like the following:

How sound is the plan?

How much has been paid out in benefits?

For what types of disabilities have payments been made?

Can I still enroll in the plan?

For those who may not be familiar with the income protection plan, a brief summary may be in order. The plan insures APA members against loss of income during periods of total disability, paying benefits when an insured member is unable to work at his regular occupation because of sickness or accident. It has nothing to do with hospital bills or doctor bills. Its only purpose is to assure an individual of a steady income while he is laid up and unable to do his job. Insurance benefits under this policy are paid even if the member's salary continues or if he receives benefits from another source.

When the plan was first set up in 1956, any member of APA who was under 70 and gainfully employed could enroll without evidence of insurability. Since the close of the "open enrollment" period, any member who wished to join the plan or to increase his benefits has been required to show evidence of good health.

The present plan provides payments ranging from \$25.00 a week to \$100.00 a week during periods that an insured member is prevented from working at his regular job because of sickness or accident. Beginning on May 1, 1959, benefits as high as \$150.00 a week will be available on certain plans (see below). Payments for sickness may run for as long as two years; payment for accident may last a lifetime.

¹ The term "member" is not capitalized because reference is to all classes of members—Associates, Members, and Fellows—of the APA.

FOUR PLANS NOW AVAILABLE

Up to now, members have had the option of electing either of two plans:

Plan A provides benefits beginning with the eighth day of disability for sickness or the first day of hospitalization.

Plan B requires a 28-day waiting period before benefits begin.

About one-third of the participants have chosen Plan A; two-thirds Plan B.

As of May 1, 1959, two additional options will be available:

Plan C provides a 90-day waiting period.

Plan D provides a one-year waiting period.

These additional options are to be offered because many APA members expressed an interest in them. They are designed primarily for those who work in colleges and universities, state and federal agencies, and other organizations which have liberal sick leave or disability policies. Psychologists employed by these organizations usually know that they will continue to receive an income for a definite period of time. For example, a university professor wrote the Insurance Committee that his income was assured for one full year. He felt no need for short-term protection. He wanted protection that would *begin* after his university income stopped. Plan D provides him with precisely the coverage he wants at a very low premium (only \$41.00 a year assuming a benefit of \$100.00 a week).

Other members asked the committee for a plan with a three- to six-month waiting period. Their requests have been met through Plan C. There was such a small difference in premium between a three-month and a six-month waiting period that the committee decided to offer only the three-month waiting period.

Higher weekly benefits are now available under Plans B, C, and D. Those electing the 28-day, 90-day, or 365-day waiting period may insure themselves for as much as \$125.00 or \$150.00 weekly, provided this amount does not exceed 75% of their regular earned income. The maximum benefit un-

TABLE 1
ANNUAL AND QUARTERLY PREMIUMS FOR EACH CLASS OF WEEKLY BENEFITS BY PLAN

Plan	Waiting Period	Mode of Premium Payment	Weekly Benefit					
			\$25	\$50	\$75	\$100	\$125	\$150
A	7 days	Annual	\$33.00	\$63.00	\$93.00	\$123.00	Not available	
		Quarterly	8.75	16.25	23.75	31.25	Not available	
B	28 days	Annual	22.50	41.00	59.50	77.50	101.00	126.00
		Quarterly	6.13	10.75	15.38	19.88	25.75	32.00
C	90 days	Annual	18.56	33.83	49.09	63.94	84.00	104.50
		Quarterly	5.06	8.87	12.69	16.40	21.50	26.63
D	365 days	Annual	13.00	22.50	32.00	41.00	52.50	65.00
		Quarterly	3.75	6.13	8.50	10.75	13.63	16.75

der Plan A (7-day waiting period) will remain at \$100.00 weekly for the time being.

The plans, premiums, and weekly benefits (excluding death and dismemberment benefits) are summarized in Table 1.

EVIDENCE OF INSURABILITY NOT REQUIRED FOR NEW PLANS DURING "OPEN ENROLLMENT" PERIOD

Any member of the APA who is under the age of 70 and is gainfully employed on a full time basis may enroll in Plans C or D *without providing evidence of insurability* between January 1 and March 31, 1959. The only ones not eligible to enroll on this basis are those members whose applications for income protection insurance have previously been turned down by Liberty Mutual for health reasons. These members may reapply, but must submit evidence of insurability. Any member of APA who meets the eligibility requirements stated above may elect to enroll in Plans A or B, but must provide evidence of insurability.

The members already enrolled in Plans A or B who wish to increase their weekly benefits or to decrease the length of their waiting period (to a minimum of seven days) should apply for a change in status as soon as possible so that it can go into effect on May 1, 1959, the anniversary date of the plan. Here again, evidence of insurability is required.

New members, whose date of election to APA became effective on January 1, 1959, may enroll in any of the four plans without providing evidence of insurability if they enroll between the dates of January 1 and December 31, 1959.

It is quite evident from the number of references to "evidence of insurability" that it is not easy for those with poor health histories to get coverage under the APA plan—or any other commercial or group plan for that matter. Those who failed to take advantage of the "open enrollment" in 1956 and who cannot now provide evidence of insurability have found that it has not been possible for them to gain acceptance into the plan. It is clearly to an individual's advantage to enroll in whichever plan best meets his needs *while he is still in good health*. Once a person develops an adverse health condition, it is too late to obtain coverage.

Some members may be wondering about their need for income protection insurance. The need depends on an individual's circumstances. If an individual has no income to protect, or if he has an independent source of income, there is obviously no need for this type of insurance. On the other hand, it may be extremely important to the self-employed psychologist whose income ceases the minute sickness or accident prevents him from meeting his clients. It may also be important to those who are sure of a continuing income for a

limited period of time, but who have no assurance that such income would continue for several years, or for as long as they are disabled.

\$153,000.00 IN BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS

The Insurance Committee has recently completed an analysis of claims paid to participants during the first two years of the APA plan's operation. There have been 362 claims paid. Thus, roughly one out of ten participants has benefited. The total amount paid out in benefits is \$153,000.00, an average of approximately \$423.00 per claim.

However, we all know how misleading averages can be. Here, for example, are 11 long-term claims that were still open at the time the second year ended: 2 individuals were suffering from cancer, 2 had lost total or partial vision, 2 were suffering from heart disease, 1 from an ulcer, and 4 from psychiatric conditions. Ten of these claims were expected to run for a maximum of two years, paying each insured member \$10,400.00 since all carried the \$100.00 weekly benefit.

One of our members, who was already blind in one eye, fell and suffered a detached retina causing complete loss of sight in the other eye. This individual, now totally blind, will receive \$100.00 a week for as long as she lives, since loss of sight occurred as a result of an accident.

If space permitted, we could fill many pages with synopses of case histories like these:

Male, age 54, receiving \$100.00 weekly benefit. Condition listed as manic depressive psychosis, coronary arteriosclerosis. To date our plan has paid him \$4,300.00. Liberty Mutual estimates that the total claim will be \$10,400.00.

Male, age 41, receiving \$100.00 weekly benefit. Condition listed as cancer of the colon. \$3,300.00 has been paid as of date of the report, and the case was still open.

Female, age 52, receiving \$100.00 weekly benefits. Condition described as menopausal symptoms. Thus far \$1,128.00 has been paid.

Several important points emerge from an inspection of the statistical summary of the various types of illnesses for which benefits were paid during the first two years of the APA plan's operation.

1. *Diseases of the respiratory system* account for more claims (55) than any other clearly defined category. The benefits for these claims average about \$233.00 per claim.

2. *Diseases of the nervous system* (including eyes, ears, and mental disorders) accounted for 25 claims. The average amount of such claims was \$1,161.00.

3. *Diseases of the circulatory system* were next in seriousness (as judged by average payments). There were 38 such claims, averaging \$778.00 each.

4. *Neoplasms (cancer)* accounted for 25 claims, with average payments of \$572.00 each.

5. *Diseases of the digestive system* accounted for 44 claims; those of the *genito-urinary system* for 33. Average payments were \$316.00 and \$306.00 respectively.

The six categories mentioned above account for 220 claims. The remaining 142 claims do not fall into clearly defined categories. About 100 of these were not coded (they averaged \$262.00 each). 43 were lumped together into a miscellaneous disease category because there were too few instances to warrant separate tabulation. These averaged \$402.00 each. Many of these cases are still open, so the averages for these claims will run substantially higher than the figures given.

The relationship between age and the various disease categories is not as clear from the available data as might be desirable. In certain disease categories, older members tend to have more serious disabilities, but this does not hold true across the board. 12 members in the 30-39 age group were paid an average of \$450.00 each for disabilities of the circulatory system, while 14 members in the 50-59 age group were paid an average of \$1,243.00 each. The increase in average benefits is only partly due to older members enrolling in plans with higher benefits; a special breakdown of this category shows that part of the increase is also due to an increased incidence of heart disease.

On the other hand, there seems to be a definite downward trend in diseases of the respiratory system with age. From what data we have, it appears that diseases of the nervous system and of the genito-urinary system peak in the 40-49 age group. These conflicting age-disease relationships made the over-all age-disease relationship difficult to interpret but suggest that members of all ages are quite vulnerable to disabilities of some sort.

The fragmentary statistics we have cited should convince APA members that psychologists of all ages are susceptible to disabilities which may deprive them of income for varying lengths of time. The average claim is of about four weeks' duration. However, as we have already indicated, there have been many sickness claims which are expected to run for the full two years; and two accident cases which are expected to run for the lifetime of the insured members.

What about the financial position of our plan?

Our loss experience thus far has been very favorable. During the first year, losses amounted to about 25% of premiums; they rose to 35% during the second year. Although figures for 1958-59 are not yet available, there are indications of a further increase. It is still too early to predict at what point our losses will level off, but the experience thus far provides no basis for concluding that they are likely to become excessive in the immediate future.

"PREMIUM CREDITS" REDUCE COST OF INSURANCE

In May 1958, when members received their premium notices, they found a 10% "premium credit." In May 1959, they will find another credit amounting to 15% of the total premium. These "credits" are the result of an unusual feature of the contract between APA and the Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. Our contract provides for the determination of a "retrospective premium" at the end of each contract year. Any "excess premium" is returned to the APA to be used solely for the benefit of members of the plan. In most other plans such excess premium is retained by the insurance company. While there is no assurance that there will continue to be "premium credits" under our plan, for the time being, at least, these serve to reduce the net cost of the insurance to our members.

Actually, only about half of the premium that has been returned to APA has been passed on to members as premium credits. The balance has been deposited with Liberty Mutual as an advance premium. This deposit is, in effect, a special reserve which saves members a substantial sum through a reduction in the insurance charge.

In addition to the reserve mentioned above, Liberty Mutual is holding about \$130,000.00 to pay unreported claims and long-term claims which are already on the books. We are also establishing an "actuarial reserve." This reserve will enable us to meet the substantial long-term claims which are bound to occur sooner or later. Since we have no way of knowing in which year one or more of our members may be involved in serious accidents, we must set aside funds each year to meet contingencies. By following a conservative policy with regard to reserves the committee believes that it is building a solid foundation for the future of the program.

It should be noted, however, that all reserves held by Liberty Mutual belong to participants in the income protection program. Should experience prove that some of these reserves are not needed to play claims, they will ultimately be returned to participants in the program as premium credits, as increased benefits, or in some other manner that will benefit those who are members of the plan.

EXPANDED ENROLLMENT VITAL TO LONG-TERM SUCCESS OF PLAN

While the plan appears to be operating on a very solid footing at the present time, its long-term success depends on a greatly expanded enrollment, especially among the younger members of the Association. Acquainting psychologists with the purposes and benefits of the APA plan is rather difficult because members are widely scattered and cannot be reached readily except by mail. Like other people who are constantly deluged with mail advertising, our members often throw promotional material into the wastebasket unread. This explains why many of them do not know about the plan nor understand its advantages.

On occasions when it has been possible to explain the income protection plan to individuals or groups, there has been a great deal of interest and enthusiasm. After learning about the benefits, some members have acknowledged that they only glanced at the brochure when they received it and had not fully grasped the significance of the plan.

This suggests that those who are now in the plan may be able to help stimulate interest among nonparticipants by telling them about it. Some members may say: "Sure it's a good plan, but it's not my responsibility to sell insurance for Liberty Mutual."

These members may not realize that the ultimate success of our plan depends on how well we are able to spread the risk among the members of our Association. Our premiums, our reserves, our future benefits are all tied to income and loss experience among *our own members*. If we do not succeed in spreading the risk over a substantial segment of our eligible members, there is a real possibility that the plan may become overloaded with people who have a better than average chance of collecting disability benefits. This would tend to raise premiums in the long run.

For this reason all participants have a stake in promoting the plan, at least to the extent of encouraging their associates to become familiar with what it provides. Nonparticipants ought to know, for example, about the "open enrollment" period which will be in effect until March 31, 1959. Some of those who could join the plan at this time, without providing evidence of insurability, may not be able to do so later on. They would undoubtedly consider it a favor to be told about this opportunity.

The Insurance Committee feels that members need have no hesitancy about commending this plan to others. Our financial position is excellent; and all indications are that those who are now in the plan are very satisfied with the way it has been operating. With the help of interested participants, it should be possible to expand our enrollment

greatly and thereby make the plan better than ever.

A descriptive brochure and enrollment forms have been mailed to all APA members. Any member who has not received this material or who has any questions about the plan should write to: Mr. Fred Goss, Administrator; APA Income Protection Plan, Liberty Mutual Insurance Co.; 1346 Connecticut Avenue; Washington 6, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND
ACCIDENT INSURANCE

CARL H. RUSH, JR.
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PSYCHOLOGY AND THE CRISIS OF STATESMANSHIP¹

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RESOLUTION of conflict between groups of people—whether between nations, between management and labor, the departments of a business or university, or between social agencies within a community setting—requires the exercise of statesmanship. Permanent resolutions may be brought about through a realistic approach to the source of conflict. Whatever the circumstances, however, attempts at resolution involve people—people who talk, make judgments, and give commitments, usually under face-to-face conditions. In a word, solutions and resolutions involve psychological aspects. Statesmen are confronted with designing psychological structures that can contribute to the handling of differences. Occasionally statesmen are successful. Too frequently they fail.

Fundamental divisions between groupings of peoples confront us today. They affirm that the problem of statesmanship is crucial. On the international scene there rages a full blown cold war. The first satellite appears in the sky and is described here as a "hunk of iron." Two weeks later the sputnik cocktail is available: one part of vodka and two of sour grape juice. Within social groupings segregation and integration constitute burning issues of the hour. Troops, not statesmanship, prevent the eruption of conflict. On the economic front, a fundamental breach separates labor and management on basic issues regarding the organization of work, even on ways toward bringing an end to the current recession. Bickering among military services goes on unabated. Religious differences split groups and generate the very rivalry and discord the precepts of religion are intended to diminish or obliterate. There seems no end. Some divisions produce constructive competitiveness and are healthy. Many are not. The result is unwanted and unnecessary friction that blocks more basic pursuits.

¹ Presidential Address, Southwestern Psychological Association, 1958. Appreciation is expressed to Muzafer Sherif and Jane Srygley Mouton for suggestions regarding this manuscript.

Secret negotiations in smoke-filled rooms, in palaces or on yachts; slick operators pulling strings and making deals; and blind resistance with bland refusal to examine issues have not served too well in managing or relieving differences between groupings of peoples. Statesmanship in all fields is faltering. Without theory statesmen lack clear-cut guides for planning and action. Yet principles of behavior are involved. Some have been identified through psychological research. The resurgence of statesmanship is contingent on the effective use of such knowledge. My purpose is to examine approaches for resolving differences between groups against the background of psychological theory and research. Research in this area is only in the early stages of development, but it does provide guidelines for clarifying the nature and the scope of the problems and for identifying solutions that may bring permanent reduction in intergroup conflicts.

APPROACHES TO THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERGROUP DISPUTES

When groups stand opposed, four ways of terminating the conflict are possible: (a) isolate the groups and eliminate contact between them; (b) unite them into one group, even if it means "cracking their heads together"; (c) join the contest, let the more powerful annihilate the weaker: "Right will prevail"; and (d) maintain the identity of each group and through functional relations seek resolution by interaction, discussion, and decision. Except for rare instances the first three: isolationism, enforced unification, and extinction all contain significant negative components more repugnant than the conflict they seek to relieve. They will not be commented upon further. The fourth way holds genuine promise. It seems so obvious. "When you have a difference, sit down and talk it through. If not that, tell it to a neutral person and let him decide." Yet the path that seeks resolution through interaction, discussion, and decision itself is permeated with subtle difficulties. Here is where true statesmanship enters, for to take

cognizance of the psychological characteristics of various approaches is to increase the probability of successful resolution of intergroup conflict.

RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES THROUGH INTERACTION, DISCUSSION AND DECISION

Six fundamental approaches to the reduction of intergroup tensions through interaction are: negotiations by group members, use of the "good offices" as an intermediary, exchange of persons, handing the conflict to judges, the use of special decision-making panels to plot solutions that involve specific common goals, and intergroup therapy. Each is examined below from the standpoint of research evidence when available and, where not, from the point of view of field experience and logical analysis. The goal is to provide a general orientation to problems of intergroup relations.

Negotiations by Group Members

Negotiations by Representatives. Solutions are sought most commonly through negotiations carried on by representatives, either the leaders themselves or persons specifically designated to negotiate. The United Nations is an example on the international level. Within universities and companies, members of departments are called together as committees where each participant is expected to represent his department in the resolution of matters that affect it. Bargaining teams in labor-management negotiations also are composed in this way. A key for evaluating this approach is found in the fact that the representative is a *member* of the group he represents. He knows the problem from an ingroup point of view.

As background for evaluating the representational approach, consider the following. Two or more groups stand opposed on a critical issue. Each has a preferred solution which its members support. Both solutions are publicly known in advance of negotiations. Representatives meet. Frequently the interaction develops into a win-lose contest, with each representative maintaining his group's position while attempting to provoke the other representative to capitulate. The representative who exerts influence on the opposing representative and in doing so obtains their acceptance of his group's position may be accorded a "hero" reaction within his group for bringing it victory

(Blake & Mouton, 1958). On the other hand, the representative who relinquishes his group's position, thus giving victory to the opposition, often is treated as disloyal or as "traitorous" by members of his own group. The representative who wins stands to enjoy increased status within his group, and he senses it. The representative who capitulates loses prestige and is confronted with possible ostracism. He knows that too (Roethlisberger, 1945). It is probable that the more cohesive the group and the more basic the issue in the life of the group, the more the "hero" or "traitor" reaction is magnified, since the hero has supported the group's position and the traitor has deviated from it in a significant manner (Schachter, 1951).

"Deadlock" is one result of the traitor threat. If a representative cannot win, through deadlocking the issue he can avoid losing. Through deadlocking, a traitor reaction can be avoided, but representatives of both sides stand to suffer reduction in membership status relative to the increased power accompanying victory. Another alternative to defeat is "compromise": give as little as possible and get as much, or create the appearance that both sides have yielded some, but with neither suffering defeat. Unfortunately such compromises often may be mechanical and brittle, constituting artificial solutions rather than real resolutions.

When negotiations take a win-lose turn, as they often do if preferred positions constitute public standards announced in advance, then quest for resolution by representatives may be replete with obstacles. The core of the difficulty seems to be that representatives are "committed" people. From the standpoint of their own group membership they are not entirely "free" to act in accord with "fact," or even to engage in compromise, if to do so would be interpreted by group members as "defeat." To a degree the limitations noted here may be reduced when representatives are freed to negotiate without prior instructions. Even then, however, they may be "expected" to act in certain ways even though formal instructions have not been placed on them.

The critical limitation in seeking resolutions through representatives seems to be in the "conflict of interest" aspect. For the representative to suffer defeat may be for him to place his membership status in jeopardy while by gaining victory he may enhance his membership position. In the negotiation situation though, logical considerations may require that the representative renounce his

group's prior position in order to gain a valid resolution of the intergroup problem. Where there is conflict of interest, the situation in such that ingroup loyalty can overwhelm logic.

Negotiations through Summit Conference. When negotiations by representatives fail, the plea is heard: "If only the *leaders* would get together, that would do more good than any other one step that could be taken." Let us examine this one. It is tricky. On first glance it appears to be a most practical and concrete approach. If leaders cannot agree, who can?

Modern history shows that Summit Conferences on the international scene have resulted in something less than complete success to either side. One has only to recall Yalta, Potsdam, and Geneva within the recent past for examples. White House Conferences on education, social welfare, and so on have fared little better. Repeated parleys by the Joint Chiefs of Staff have not resulted in satisfactory unification of military activity.

Leaders face the inherent limitations of any representative in negotiating. A further consideration in this approach is related to the source from which the leader's power is derived. To the degree he is an autocratic leader, with power to regulate followers through control of their physical, economic, or political systems, he also has power to negotiate and to commit. Why? The logic is that he can go against existing standards and norms within his group, still retain his power, and enforce the changes to which he has committed himself. Not so when leadership power is derived through an elective system. Evidence suggests that under elective conditions the leader may be even *less* free to negotiate than are other group members. It may be that the norms for leadership are more exacting and require greater responsibility than for others within the group (O. J. Harvey, 1953; Whyte, 1943). Then too, Kelley and Volkart (1952) have demonstrated an inverse correlation between evaluation by a person of his membership in a group and his susceptibility to communication on topics opposed to group norms. Also, O. J. Harvey (1952) has shown that middle and lower status group members have higher expectations for leaders than for other members and that the leader shares their expectations for his own performance. A leader, in other words, seems to be more subject to regulation by his own group than other members are. Efforts to change leaders, and other members as well, which would make them deviate from these

norms will encounter strong resistances (Cartwright, 1951).

When prevailing leadership has failed to bring about resolution or when it has made no attempt in this direction, according to Pelz (1951) the result may be increased frustration of the group expectations and consequent loss of influence by the leader. Under these conditions the suggestion to "get new leaders" frequently is heard. Leaders do come and go, and often a new leader will try, by traditional means, to accomplish what predecessors have failed to attain. No less frequently does a new leader fail. He stands in the same or a similar relationship to accepted standards and norms within his group as did the old one. The Merei study (1949) suggests his difficulty. Strong leaders were brought into groups whose traditions and standards already had been formed. To exert leadership influence within the group, they had first to *accept* the very positions they sought to change. In other words the "fresh" approach soon dies under the impact of prevailing conditions. The rule seems to be that, rather than "a new broom sweeping clean," the "new look" is rapidly transformed into an old wheeze.

The Use of Intermediaries

An approach in some respects comparable with the use of representatives or with the search for resolution of intergroup conflict through formal leaders involves the intermediary. Intermediaries usually hold membership in neither of the contending groups, but are from an outside organization or a level in an organization higher than the groups which are in conflict. The intermediary is expected to pass between the groups and to aid in the reduction of conflict through identifying areas of agreement, clarifying areas of disagreement, and developing proposals designed to ease tensions which are acceptable to both sides in a controversy. The intermediary, in other words, supplies a critical link of communication. He can pierce the boundaries which otherwise constitute barriers to communication. Usually he acts without formal authority. His success is based primarily on the goodwill and confidence that his reputation and his status as one who belongs to neither group creates.

The intermediary role needs experimental evaluation before a critical appraisal of its advantages and limitations can be given. History contains examples of conspicuous successes and outstanding

failures of this approach. From a logical point of view it does appear, however, to have the advantage of increasing communication between contending groups. It has the further advantage that final responsibility for resolution rests, not on the judgment of the intermediary, but on attitudes within the competing groups themselves. A major limitation is in the fact that many situations of intergroup conflict are such that there is no organization outside or above the groups which are in disagreement which can arrange the appointment and acceptance from both sides of an intermediary.

A further disadvantage is possibly of greater importance. Basic communication between groups is not necessarily improved through actions of an intermediary since arrangements for intergroup communication are likely to remain the same after his departure or as they were before his services were employed. The result is that *conditions* similar to those responsible for the initial eruption of conflict may remain unchanged. In a sense the intermediary role is better suited to the relief of symptoms than to the correction of basic causes.

Exchange of Persons

An approach said to have implications for resolving intergroup differences in the long-term view involves exchange of persons across the boundaries of the competing groups. The idea is that exposure on a people-to-people basis for the purpose of getting to know others, their institutions and cultural products can serve to increase understanding as a background for future cooperation. The appeal is that if people will but look and see with their own eyes they will penetrate their prejudices and stereotypes. Educational exchanges from student activities to the Fulbright fellowship program are examples in the academic field. Examples from business and industry include exchanges of industrial productivity teams between the United States and Europe as well as the pattern in business of rotating personnel from one position to another in the effort to develop managers who have a company orientation rather than a provincial, departmental point of view. There may be other advantages to this approach aside from its contribution to the resolution of intergroup differences, but that is the aspect being considered here.

Findings from a half-dozen experiments involving exchanges between political and racial group-

ings point to two general conclusions (Ram & Murphy, 1952; Saenger, 1953). One is that people-to-people interaction across groups may serve to make those whose attitudes initially are pro, more pro, and those who initially are anti, more anti. Rather than being subject to fundamental alteration it appears that attitudes and convictions which already are established undergo intensification, though there is some evidence that changes related to the specific conditions of interaction may appear.

A second generalization is based on the observation that social, political, and economic attitudes, rather than being determined solely on an individual personality basis, are significantly anchored in reference groups. If, through an exchange experience, an individual's attitudes shift in a direction away from those formerly held, on return to his group he is subject to confrontation from his peers for expressing attitudes contrary to those accepted by them. The Bennington study (Newcomb, 1943) is an outstanding early example of the extent to which individuals express attitudes which maintain congruency with attitudes anchored in their group memberships. French and Zajonc (1957) have carried the analysis of the problem further, presenting evidence which suggests that when an individual is faced with an intergroup norm conflict the attitudes expressed are those which are most congruent with situational factors. That is to say, an individual who is under exchange of persons conditions and moves from one group to another is more prone to express attitudes consistent with the views of the group in which he is located. Another consideration is that contact between groups does not always lead to a lessening of conflict. A study in the Near East shows that ingroups may be most hostile to those groups with which they come in closest contact (Dodd, 1935).

While exchange programs as approaches for resolving intergroup conflict leave much to be desired, two implications can be drawn. One is that those who initially are neutral are most susceptible to influence. Without preformed attitudes there is a real possibility that the increased exposure provided can result in a more objective appraisal of experiences. It is from an awareness of this consideration that the most intensive efforts by both sides in the cold war are concentrated on the so-called "uncommitted" people. The effort is to move them away from a neutral position on the argument of the "immortality of neutrality."

The other implication is that plans involving the exchanges of *groups* may create a favorable background for future intergroup resolution, where person-to-person programs fail. The reason is that, when individuals undergo new experiences as a *group*, attitudes anchored at the group level may themselves be subject to modification. Refusal by an individual to maintain altered attitudes then constitutes deviation from the group norms with consequent rejection confronting the individual who refuses to change (Schachter, 1951). Thus reinforcement of changed attitudes comes about through group membership.

The Use of "Judges"

Resolution of differences is sought through judges, persons trained to evaluate materials relevant to the issue under examination. Since judges hold membership in neither of the competing groups, they are not subject to the conflict of interest situation described above; therefore, they can be "fair." The Supreme Court and federal and state legal systems all are based on gaining resolution through the use of judges. Because of the judge's "outside" position, contestants are expected to accept the outcome as an impartial one.

Do they? The answer depends on where you sit. It is likely to be "Yes," if the decision favors your group; "No," if it goes against the position your group embraces. Listen to the following remarks from exploratory studies (J. Harvey, 1957; Human Relations Training Laboratory, 1958). They are reactions toward "neutral" judges from those defeated by his decision.

The judge is biased, unfair and incompetent . . . he has no grasp of the problem . . . he does not possess the intelligence prerequisite to be fair and unbiased . . . he doesn't seem to know too much about the subject . . . he didn't take enough time.

In other words, when group members are committed to their position and a judge decides against it, either the group is wrong or the judge is wrong. In their initial reactions group members have *little* doubt as to which: it is the judge. Results from several sources suggest that the stronger the commitment of a group to its solution, the more relevant the problem to the life of the group, and the more cohesive the group, the greater the negative reactions to a judge whose decision defeats them. Even though obligated to accept the verdict, atti-

tudes remain more or less consistent with convictions held prior to the rendering of the judgment.

When intergroup competition has been generated for study purposes under laboratory training conditions with resolution of the conflict placed in the hands of a judge, a delayed reaction of considerable importance has been noted among members within some defeated groups (Human Relations Training Laboratory, 1958). Though the initial reaction in the defeated group toward the judge is as noted above, "it's the judge who is at fault," a delayed reaction among some members is, "it's our group which is at fault." Such a reaction seems to arise among the members who were the least committed to the group's position before the issue was submitted. Rather than venting their frustrations from defeat on the judge, they discharge it by aggressive attacks on other group members. A consequence is that the group tends to "splinter," to loose its former degree of cohesion and to disrupt.

When the judge renders a verdict favoring a group's position, two things are evident. The judge is experienced as being fair and unbiased all right, because the judgment he proclaims "only proves that we were right in the first place." He is experienced as being a *good* judge because he sees the situation as members themselves see it. "If there was any doubt in our minds before, his ruling eliminated it. Now we know we're right." Resolutions thus attained may have administrative consequences, particularly if the judge's decision is reinforced by sanctions. To those who lose, the resolution retains an arbitrary, mechanical quality. Losers comply because the ground rules require it, but they remain unconvinced.

By comparison with a representative or a leader a judge is not gripped in the vise of a conflict of interest situation. Yet the judge is as suspect by those whose position he defeats as is the representative who goes against his group. The inherent difficulty is that the judge's decision may carry little force in comparison with the strength of the group's commitment to its position. The defeated frequently are not moved to alter their position.

Common Goals with Crisscross Panels

A situation favoring resolution is present when both of the opposing sides are confronted with a common goal which can only be reached through interdependent effort. This set of circumstances

has confronted social agencies in raising operating budgets. Competing with one another was found to be less than successful; but, when agencies came together and agreed on a superordinate goal which could only be reached through joint effort, greater success was achieved. Each group maintained its identity, and yet through embracing a common goal the area of conflict was eliminated and one of co-operation was created. Another example of a new grouping designed to achieve a common goal is the proposed single agency to take the place of competing individual services in the development and coordination of approaches to outer space. Control of military uses of atomic energy and programs for world reduction of arms constitute goals at the international level which have been dreamt about but not yet realized. Companies that have introduced cost concern programs on a common goal basis have found this approach quite successful (Hood, 1957). Only recently, however, has experimental work been oriented toward a more systematic assessment of the approach.

In three highly ingenious studies Sherif, who originally formulated the problem discussed here, has explored a variety of ways of relieving differences between contending groups (Sherif, 1958; Sherif & Sherif: 1953, 1956). Groups were placed in competition on a win-lose basis. Unsuccessful in relieving the tensions thus produced were contacts between members, contacts between leaders, and preaching and coercion. More fruitful was the solution of competing groups joining together in order to defeat a third, outside group, but in this way the arena of conflict was widened. The most appropriate way found was that of confronting contending groups with a common problem which could be resolved only through their joint efforts. Once a superordinate goal was accepted as a challenge by high status members of both sides then mutual efforts by individuals, with less regard for primary group affiliations, became more common. Contending groups started to pull together, and contacts between members turned to positive purposes instead of serving as occasions for accusations and mutual irritations.

Several conditions are necessary for employing the superordinate goal approach. Both sides must *desire* a genuine solution, and the mere presence of friction is not by any means indicative that they do. The absence of such requisite problem-solving motivation precludes the success of any approach.

In addition there is a need for a single definition of the problem developed by both sides without a prior statement of preferred solutions. This way avoids commitments which are prone to become irreversible when one side appears to be losing, and strategies for dealing with the "loss of face" problem become unnecessary. Fundamental conditions for successful resolution are present when both of these considerations have been met.

A limitation in employing the superordinate goal approach is in the fact that all members of competing groups rarely are able to combine efforts toward attaining superordinate goals. There is need of a way for representatives to interact toward the attainment of superordinate goals which can provide freedom of action without the status reduction that occurs with going against one's own group's position.

There is a possibility which avoids difficulties encountered by other methods. Each side develops a list of nominees whom they consider qualified to represent them with respect to one particular source of friction. Next, from the list of nominees, members of both groups elect a decision-making panel through voting on representatives from *both* sides. The final panel contains members who represent their own group and yet who simultaneously represent the other group as well.

By the conditions of their selection, being jointly elected, representatives are more free to confront the problem, without facing the hero-traitor dynamic that arises from the usual unilateral group orientation. Why? The reason is that group members from both sides experience such representatives as oriented toward a "fair" solution. Even when they go against a prevailing standard of their group the action is experienced as more "legitimate" than when they do so as unilateral representatives. Furthermore, representatives themselves are motivated to examine issues from the frames of reference of both groups, rather than from that of their own group alone.

The crisscross panel is a way of approaching the resolution of intergroup disputes that is currently under experimental evaluation. The procedure constitutes but an extension of democratic methods to the solution of problems. Even now a modification of it is employed to settle labor-management disputes which have gone into deadlock. The method provides the possibility of progress toward reduction of intergroup conflict, whether the point of

application involves disputes between nations, labor-management, government agencies, departments of a company organization, or between social agencies within a community.

Intergroup Therapy

A final possibility remains when other approaches fail. It is based on therapeutic conceptions that deal with problems of relationship. The *unit* of therapy, rather than being focused on the individual, the interpersonal level, or the group, is comprised of competing groups *in relationship* with one another. The rationale is that groups may hold perceptions and stereotypes of one another which are distorted, negative, or so hidden that they prevent functional relationships from arising between them. Only *after* basic problems of relationship have been eliminated is effective interaction possible. If the contending groups are so large as to eliminate the possibility of interchange among all members simultaneously, segments of groups may be employed, with the procedure repeated until fundamental sources of intergroup animosity have been neutralized.

One procedure of intergroup therapy is to bring contending groups together as *groups*. In private each discusses and seeks to agree on its perception and attitudes toward the other and its perceptions of itself as well. Then *representatives* of both groups talk together in the presence of other group members from both sides who are obligated to remain silent. During this phase representatives are responsible for accurate communication of the picture that each group has constructed of the other and of itself. They are free to ask questions for clarification of the other group's point of view, but ground rules prevent them from giving rationalizations, justifications, etc. The reason for using representatives is that communication remains more orderly and responsibility is increased for them to provide an accurate version of the situation. Members of both groups then discuss *in private* the way they are perceived by each other in order to develop understanding of the discrepancies between their own view of themselves and the description of them by the other side. Finally, again working through representatives, each helps the other to appreciate bases of differences, to correct *invalid* perceptions, and to consider alternative explanations of past behavior. Fundamental value

conflicts not based on distortions also can be identified and examined, then suggestions can be developed for ways of working on problems which can result in solutions apart from basic value conflicts.

Intergroup therapy is relatively unexplored, although it has been tried with success in industrial settings on several occasions. Many problems, themselves subject to solution through the superordinate goal approach, cannot even be faced until deeper animosities *between* groups have been resolved or at least explored and neutralized. If emotion-laden negative attitudes and stereotypes are dealt with first, it becomes increasingly possible in a second phase to formulate and work toward the attainment of superordinate goals as described above.

Now to return to my thesis. Statesmanship is faltering. Many problems of tremendous import continue to be handled by statesmen on an intuitive basis—a paradox in a world where scientific method has advanced understanding so far. Approaches frequently are used which fail to recognize the psychological characteristics of people and the dilemmas confronting them when engaging in discussion intended to resolve intergroup disputes. What are some of the psychological characteristics of people that must be considered?

Take, for example, the situation of a typical representative. In negotiation he is faced with a fundamental conflict of interest. Stephen Decatur in 1816 said: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!" In this remark he was identifying the dilemma facing all representatives of groups which are in competition, whether leaders or other members. If to yield or to compromise means defeat, it exposes the responsible person to rejection and ostracism by his peers. To resist and gain victory can lead to his acclamation as a hero. The consequence is that representatives are motivated to win, or at least to avoid defeat, even though a realistic solution of an intergroup problem may be sacrificed in the process. An intermediary who holds membership in neither group may be employed to develop solutions acceptable to both groups. This approach, which has some positive merits, when it is possible to appoint an intermediary from some outside group may be successful in resolving a specific

problem, but is likely to do little to effect resolution of basic cleavages between groups since lines of communication supplied by the action of this intermediary are likely to be eliminated after his departure.

Resolution of conflict through the action of judges also suffers a critical limitation. Rendering a judgment which defeats a side does not convince the vanquished protagonists of the error of their ways. Further, the force to implement the verdict is not within the group, but must be added from the outside. Neither understanding, nor acceptance, nor commitment, but coercion is likely to be the force which prevents the extension of conflict. The limitations of this procedure frequently outweigh its possible merits for the simple reason that punitive action, or the threat of it, is basic to enforcement.

There is another way which seems more constructive. Acting with respect to common goals, representatives can be selected through a crisscross election method in such a way as to free them to confront the problem more squarely, rather than trying to "win" from a partisan point of view. When this is done, subscribing to the outcome is an obligation within *both* groups. It can occur through acceptance and commitment, without coercion. Concrete application should begin with problems of lesser significance at low levels in order to permit an assessment of the method and the development of skill in using it in specific situations. Then, with success, the procedure can be applied to more important problems at higher levels until issues of substance and significance are being dealt with in a constructive manner.

When an approach to resolution of intergroup problems through superordinate goals cannot be made because of negative, emotionally saturated perceptions, attitudes and stereotypes, a possibility of solution still remains. Through insertion of a preliminary phase involving the concepts of intergroup therapy, conditions favoring problem-solving may be created. If the approach "unblocks" intergroup relationships, then the actions required by superordinate goal considerations can be introduced.

Theory of behavior relating to individuals in group situations and relations between groups is basic to the enlightened practice of statemanship. It provides guidelines for planning and action. The outcome of the crisis of our times may well rest

on whether or not statesmen can design situations for the resolution of intergroup disputes which are sound. Introduction of a psychological point of view may constitute a condition for survival.

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THE LICENSING ACT IN ARKANSAS: ITS INCEPTION AND IMPACT

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IN 1955 the General Assembly of Arkansas enacted legislation licensing the private practice of psychology. The present article is a summary of major events preceding this legislation, a brief description of the Licensing Act itself, and some impressions on the impact of the act after its three years in operation.

PRELIMINARY EVENTS

As a general statement, the Licensing Act resulted more by accident than design. In December of 1954, the Arkansas Psychological Association, embarking on a more active interprofessional policy, invited the Arkansas Psychiatric Society to meet and exchange views on issues of possible mutual professional interest. The Arkansas Psychiatric Society responded favorably to the gesture and disclosed that they were in the process of seeking a modification in the state's Medical Practices Act "to tighten regulations against unqualified persons attempting to treat mental and nervous disorders."² The Arkansas Psychological Association, upon request, received a copy of the proposed amendment and became concerned on observing that psychologists were not included in the clause defining qualified personnel. Prompt contact was made with the Arkansas Psychiatric Society; but, unfortunately, the proposed amendment already had been acted upon by the Arkansas Medical Society and integrated into its legislative program. The only recourse to action open to psychologists was clearly set forth in an official communication from the President of the Arkansas Psychiatric Society:

¹ E. Philip Trapp, at the main campus at Fayetteville of the University of Arkansas, was President of the Arkansas Psychological Association in 1956-57; Sidney J. Fields, of the University of Arkansas Medical Center at Little Rock, was President in 1955-56.

² The quoted phrase refers to what was later the official title of House Bill 135, Official Senate and House Calendar, 60th General Assembly, State of Arkansas.

... as the matter now stands, this particular Bill was introduced (into the legislature) by the Medical Society, is not being sponsored by our organization, and we are not in any position to withdraw the Bill at this time since we are not the sponsoring organization. As we see the picture this Bill will therefore have to follow the usual (General Assembly) Committee Reports and Recommendations.

In other words, the measure would have to be publicly debated in committee hearings and on the floors of the House and the Senate.

Suddenly then, the Arkansas Psychological Association, in attempting to correct an oversight in the wording of an amendment proposed by another group, found itself thrust head-deep in a pool of political polemics—and not a legal swimmer among its members.

In late January 1955, the House Committee on Public Health and Practice of Medicine held a public hearing on the proposed amendment. The net result was a committee recommendation "Do Pass" for the bill, in spite of the concerns expressed by the psychologists present. The hearing, however, could not be described as a total failure. A most constructive by-product was the revelation experienced by the committee in discovering that the profession of psychology, so intimately connected with the field of mental health, was completely ungoverned in its private practice by legal regulations. The committee considered the fact detrimental to the interest of the public as well as to the profession of psychology. They pledged support for any action Arkansas psychologists might undertake to legalize the private practice of psychology.

The Amendment Bill, having passed the House, went to the Senate where it was referred to the Senate Committee on Public Health and Practice of Medicine. The committee Chairman, impressed by the statements presented by psychologists attending the open meeting, appointed an Ad Hoc Committee, headed by the Chairman of the Arkansas Medical Society's Legislative Committee, to

study the issue and to report back to the Senate committee within five days.

The first move of the Ad Hoc Committee was to call for a closed meeting with officers of the Arkansas Psychiatric Society. The deliberations of this conference were never revealed; but, presumably, they facilitated the scheduling of a joint meeting on the following evening with representatives from the Arkansas Psychological Association, the Arkansas Psychiatric Society, and the Arkansas Medical Society. This meeting produced the catalyst that set a licensing bill into motion. The Arkansas Medical Society stated its adamant opposition to any modification of the proposed Medical Practice Amendment, but also stated it would not obstruct passage of appropriate licensing legislation for psychologists provided the Arkansas Psychological Association, in turn, would discontinue further opposition to the Amendment Bill. The Arkansas Psychological Association consented to the proposal, all parties left satisfied, and the Ad Hoc Committee had successfully completed its task with three days to spare.

Time became a crucial factor at this point. Already in the second week of February, the General Assembly was swinging into its last half of business. Moving swiftly, Arkansas psychologists reviewed the licensing laws of other states and decided to use the Tennessee law as a model. The bill was drafted and placed on the House calendar on February 14. The bill swept the House and the Senate with few dissenting votes and on March 2, 1955 was signed by Governor Faubus into law as Act 129 of the 60th General Assembly.

THE ARKANSAS LICENSING ACT

The act creates a five-member Board of Examiners, which is empowered with executing the provisions of the law. Board members, appointed by the Governor from a list of nominees submitted by the state psychological association, serve a five-year term of office. Members of the first board, however, were appointed for staggered terms, ranging from one to five years, to preserve continuity in board operation. The board personnel must consist of two members with major interest in academic psychology and three members with major interest in practicing psychology. These qualifications are intended to prevent the board

from adopting a too narrow frame of reference in executing its functions.

The act defines two levels of psychological practice: Psychological Examiner and Psychologist. The essential differences between the two levels are stated in terms of the service and training each encompasses. The Psychological Examiner is defined by the act as follows:

A person practices as a "Psychological Examiner" when he holds himself out to be a Psychological Examiner, or renders to individuals or to the public for remuneration any service involving the application of recognized principles, methods and procedures of the science and profession of psychology, such as interviewing or administering and interpreting tests of mental abilities, aptitudes, interests and personality characteristics, for such purposes as psychological evaluation or for educational or vocational selection, guidance or placement. The Psychological Examiner practices the following only under qualified supervision: overall personality appraisal or classification, personality counseling, psychotherapy or personality readjustment techniques.

The Psychologist is defined by the act as follows:

A person practices as a "Psychologist" when he holds himself out to be a Psychologist, or renders to individuals or the public for remuneration any service involving the application of recognized principles, methods and procedures of the science and profession of psychology, such as interviewing or administering and interpreting tests of mental abilities, aptitudes, interests and personality characteristics, for such purposes as psychological evaluation or for such purposes as overall personality appraisal or classification, personality counseling, psychotherapy or personality readjustment.

The act places restrictions, of course, on the use of medical therapies, such as electric shock and drugs, and requires "effective intercommunication with a qualified psychiatrist to make provision for the diagnosis and treatment of medical problems by a physician" for the legal practice of psychotherapy.

Qualifications for Psychological Examiner include: master's level in academic training (or equivalent in terms of experience to be evaluated by the board); evidence of moral character and of ethical standing; examinations, both written and oral. In addition to the qualifications listed for Psychological Examiner, an applicant for Psychologist must have the doctorate degree plus one postdoctoral year of acceptable experience.

The cost in securing a license is \$10.00 for

application forms, \$25.00 for filing the application, and \$5.00 annually for renewal of the license.

A grandfather clause granting the board the option of waiving the examination requirements applied during the first two years the act was in effect. Under this provision 13 individuals obtained licenses to practice as Psychologists, and 4 individuals were licensed to practice as Psychological Examiners. The first written examination, consisting of the Advanced Graduate Record, was administered to 9 candidates on October 12, 1957. (The board preferred the use of the Advanced Graduate Record because of its convenience, the broad breadth of material sampled, and the available norms for facilitating objective evaluation of test performance.) The first oral examination was held December 14, 1957. As a result of these examinations, 7 persons were granted licenses, 4 as Psychologists and 3 as Psychological Examiners.

License reciprocity is at the discretion of the Board of Examiners and decided upon on the merits of each case.

The act specifies adoption of the Code of Ethics of the APA and provides that the code be filed with the Secretary of State.

IMPACT

The final objective of this article is a broad, though tentative, assessment of the impact of the act now that it has actively functioned for slightly over three years. The treatment planned here will limit itself to a survey of three major influences of the act: the effect of the act on public opinion, the effect of the act on other related disciplines or professional groups, and the effect of the act within the profession of psychology itself.

The status of psychology appears to have been elevated in the eyes of the public as a result of the legislation. From the moment that debate arose in the public hearing of the Medical Act Amendment, articles and letters-to-the-editors began appearing in various newspapers expressing opinions generally favorable to psychology. As a result, many people experienced their first awareness of the professional role of psychology and saw the potential usefulness of the profession in alleviating the pressing mental health needs of the state. The problem of gaining public support

for expansion of psychological services in the state undoubtedly has lessened because of the prestige deriving from the Licensing Act. Evidence of this trend was inherent in the expressed attitudes of some of the legislators at the time of the passage of the act.

The effect of the act on other professions, notably the medical profession, seems to have led to improved relationships. The conservative component in organized medicine, in particular, seems more accepting of the professional efforts of psychology now that it is operating under the aegis of law. With the growing role of psychology in the centers of medical education in the state, the importance of this factor will become increasingly felt. Already the general medical practitioner is beginning to see the psychologist as an additional professional resource that may now become increasingly available to him as more and more qualified psychologists are drawn to enter private practice. By the same token it has become necessary to acquaint medical students with the levels of private psychological practice as defined by state law.

The past three years have seen substantial growth in the size and functions of the psychological divisions in both the State Medical School and the State Hospital. Some part of this expansion can be properly attributed to the effect and stimulation of the act.

The passage of the act has had the effect of a good blood transfusion for the profession of psychology itself. For one thing, the stature of the Arkansas Psychological Association in the eyes of its own members has risen significantly. The successful endeavors of a few members in defending and safeguarding the interests of psychology have welded the association into its strongest cohesive unit within the memories of the present authors. Meetings are better attended and seem now to convey a sense of active involvement on the part of the members as they carefully follow the operation of the Board of Examiners.

The act has been a stimulant for increased activities in the association as a result both of responsibilities directly relating to the act and of problems developing as a by-product. An example of a by-product is the construction of a training program in the state which will prepare applicants to meet the qualifications for license. The existing

graduate programs at the time of the passage of the act were geared to general and experimental psychology, with little offered in applied psychology. Following enactment of the law a two-year master's program designed for the Psychological Examiner level has been inaugurated at the University of Arkansas, and most recently a proposal for a doctoral program in clinical psychology at the university has been approved by the Graduate Council. Various clerkships, intern programs, postdoctoral fellowships, etc. are in the planning stages at the University of Arkansas Medical Center, the State Hospital, and other state facilities capable of supervising training. The act has helped appreciably in convincing authorities of the need and urgency in promoting these programs.

It should not be construed from the foregoing that the act has led to a life of comfort and ease. Already many headaches have been experienced, and some adverse criticisms have accumulated toward those empowered to enforce the act. As with any law, the question of liberal or conservative interpretation has been a tormenting issue, and the board is still struggling for the proper per-

spective. The board, operating without local precedent in many matters, has done, however, a highly creditable job. These comments are only intended to point up the difficulty of its task.

In brief, the impact of the act has strengthened the security of those in the private practice of psychology in Arkansas and has seemingly increased the stature of psychology in the eyes of other professions and the general public.

In view of the current concern at the national level with respect to legal regulations governing the private practice of psychology, the authors wish to make it clear that this review was not intended to sway opinions or generate pressures on this complicated and important national issue. Inasmuch as the evaluations of the Arkansas Licensing Act are on such necessarily tenuous evidence, generalizations beyond the state level would be ill-advised.

The authors do feel that the rather unusual circumstances surrounding the development of the Arkansas Licensing Act may have some general interest and value to the profession of psychology as a whole and should, therefore, be properly recorded in its history.

Comment

Your Life-Identification Card

A reasonably well adjusted friend of ours, who we are embarrassed to admit is not a psychologist, was telling us recently of her incompatibility with many people she meets socially and professionally. She expressed a blunt, yet normal, indifference to men and women whose backgrounds and attitudes are incongruent with hers. She was wondering whether we, as psychologists, might be able to suggest some kind of behavioral legerdemain which could help her, along with the other two-and-a-half billion world inhabitants, identify with better than chance validity those persons with whom she might expect to achieve a harmonious relationship, even if only conversationally, and those persons whom she had better eschew.

We sought desperately to propose an objective, sound solution characterized by the painstaking rigor which has been responsible for psychology's elevation from armchair to Science. Further, we attempted to encumber our friend as little as possible with complex diagnostic tools which she would have neither the time nor competence to use. Hence, this led us to suggest that she first consider the individual's sex, which untrained but intelligent laymen can usually determine at a respectable level of confidence. Armed with sex as her first hurdle, her screening process would commence more or less in the following manner. If she likes men better than women, she should be aloof to strange women at, say, a cocktail party. If on the other hand she gets along with women better than with men, that is of course her own private affair and she should keep men at arm's length.

Our friend, who by this time was beginning to see that psychologists have something on the ball, was very enthusiastic with our practical approach to the problem, and we were therefore encouraged to proceed to the second level of discrimination. Here we used a combination of age, weight, height, body build, eye color, hair color, greasy or creamy complexion, and other critical determiners of physical differences among people and psychologists. It turned out that she had a distinct valence for a middle-aged, greasy, mesomorphic male with black eyes and dark hair maturely streaked with gray.

However, even though she was satisfied that this description would enable her to scratch perhaps 90% of the people who would be objectionable to her, she still wondered whether we could do something about helping her identify other characteristics that might help her eliminate all but the fraction of the 1% of humans with whom she had something in common and

with whom, since she is a piano teacher, she could make good music (together). Obviously she was thinking of such variables as socioeconomic status, family background, marital and/or parental status, occupation, life goals and perhaps goals after life since she was not particularly interested in a temporary relationship, worst fears, political affiliations, food preferences, mode of dress including a firm position one way or another on Bermuda shorts and sacks, unidentified flying objects, ad infinitum.

And this brings us to the main point of this paper. Would it not be nice, as we are certain Toops at Ohio State must have suggested at one time and for which he should be expected to have a "blue box," if identification cards were available for each member of the population? The central datum of this card would be a code number which had an unequivocal meaning, perhaps using Toops' notion of addends, for each unique stratum describing an individual. This would make possible the following conversation: "Miss Jones, I would like you to meet Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith, Miss Jones." "My life-identification number is 8187," Mr. Smith informs Miss Jones, "and since you are an 8171, I'm afraid we would never get along. Suppose, therefore, we sip our brandies at opposite corners of the parlor, hmmm?"

John Flanagan and his colleagues are making a fine start in this direction through their "national aptitude census." It is hoped that their findings, along with the codification of numerous other data, particularly of the noncognitive variety, which other investigators will surely be undertaking in the next decade or two, will be combined to give the man-in-the-street information essential for making the host of personal and social decisions which are now made with uncertainty and dissatisfaction. Oh, we almost forgot: life-identification numbers or codes could also be used by schools, industry, and national manpower registers for such practical objectives as selection, classification, guidance, and counseling.

In conclusion, we should like to remove tongue from cheek and suggest that the time is probably not too far distant for expecting the realization of some modest form of the above identification-card scheme, a device which is capable of leading to numerous improvements and economies in the deployment of our human resources for national security, productivity, and personal happiness.

ROBERT PERLOFF
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Psychology in Action

THE 1955 AND 1957 RESEARCH CONFERENCES: THE IDENTIFICATION OF CREATIVE SCIENTIFIC TALENT

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IN August 1955 a first national research conference was held on the topic of "The Identification of Creative Scientific Talent." The idea for the conference arose in 1954 through discussions and correspondence with Harry Kelly and Bowen Dees of the National Science Foundation. It was felt that the time was ripe to initiate conferences of psychologists to exchange research findings and to stimulate one another to further research attacks on the complex and vital conference topic. A second national conference in August 1957 followed up the 1955 conference as an important part of a long-range attack on the difficult problem of the nature and identification of creative scientific talent. Both conferences were made possible through financial support from the National Science Foundation.

The conferences were held high in the Wasatch Mountains southeast of Salt Lake City in a scenic ski resort at Alpine Lodge, Brighton, Utah. This setting proved to be inspirational and also so isolated that participants continued their discussions on creativity in the evenings as well as during their meals.

A steering committee of Benjamin S. Bloom, J. P. Guilford, and Donald W. Taylor served for the initial conference, and the latter two persons plus Anne Roe formed the steering committee for the second conference. All participants for each conference were selected on a national basis, in an effort to obtain the most valuable and pertinent contributions to the conference topic. The reports presented at the first conference were as follows:

Greetings to participants	A. RAY OLPIN
NSF interests in the problem of identifying creative scientific talent	BOWEN C. DEES
The program for gifted children in the Portland (Oregon) public schools	ROBERT C. WILSON
Some measures related to success and placement in basic engineering research and development ...	DAVID R. SAUNDERS
Social and technological determiners of creativity	LINDSEY R. HARMON
Relationships between measures of scientific performance and other variables	DONALD PELZ

A proposal for establishing ultimate criteria for measuring creative output	JOE H. MCPHERSON
The relation of intellectual factors to creative thinking in science ...	J. P. GUILFORD
The calculated risk: An aspect of scientific performance	DAVID MCCELLAND
Problems in identifying creative scientific talent at various academic levels	HENRY S. DYER
An interim report on creativity research	MAURY H. CHORNESS
The disposition toward originality	FRANK BARRON
A transactional approach to creativity	MORRIS I. STEIN
Report on creativity research at the University of Chicago	BENJAMIN S. BLOOM
The creative process and its relation to the identification of creative talent	BREWSTER GHISELIN
Demographic, cultural, and personality attributes of scientists	ROBERT H. KNAPP
Some possible relations between expression abilities and creative abilities	CALVIN W. TAYLOR
Some comments on creativity and mental health	RAYMOND GOULD
Predicting scientific talent in gifted students	HELEN MARSHALL
Aptitudes committee report	FRANK BARRON
Personality committee report	ROBERT H. KNAPP
Criterion committee report	LINDSEY R. HARMON

Since the 18 individual reports generally had some influence on the aptitude, personality, and criterion committee reports, an attempt will be made to present a few of the highlights of these three subgroup reports. The first objective of the aptitude subgroup was to list areas of measurement in which new tests of creativity are needed, such as tests measuring the number of ideas a person can manipulate, tests requiring a long gestation period, tests of risk-estimation and tendency to take risks, nonverbal originality tests, and many others. The second objective was to make specific recommendations for the social organization of research on creativity. A third objective was to state unresolved issues in such research. The fourth was to describe new areas in which research on creativity is needed.

The personality subgroup in their progress report presented a tentative list of some 24 personality attributes descriptive of scientists, according to the evidence to date. In their final report these were consolidated into the following seven, so-called cardinal traits: (a) a liking for manipulation of ideas, a liking for toying with ideas, for its own sake; (b) the general quality of impulse control, repression of affects, isolation, suppression; (c) a low level of interpersonal involvement in human relations; (d) a devotion to independence and autonomy; (e) tolerance for complexity and the capacity to defer closure; (f) a liking for things and a preoccupation with the physical universe; (g) low projectivity, or a high commitment to secondary thought processes.

On the difficult criterion problem a functional analysis of scientific work was proposed as a way of forming postulates in the criterion area. The ultimate criterion and substitute criteria, such as intermediate and immediate ones, were discussed. In mentioning the ultimate criterion, stress was placed on measuring the products more than the person. Distinction was also made between the product and the process of creating products.

At a later date a participant from one of the largest centers of research on creativity stated that their research team all read the 1955 conference report after they had been discussing the design of their new creativity study for about six months, and one of their leaders remarked that everything they had been talking about was in the 1955 report.

At the 1957 conference a few persons who attended and joined in the discussion, although they presented no report, were John Holland, Barton Howell, Robert Lacklen, Mary Locke, Cecil Mullins, and William R. Smith. Other persons present at some sessions were Walter F. Murphy, S. L. Crawley, and Sterling M. McMurrin. The reports were as follows:

Greetings to participants	A. RAY OLPIN
Some variables functioning in productivity and creativity	CALVIN W. TAYLOR
Variables related to creativity and productivity among men in two research laboratories	DONALD W. TAYLOR
Some effects of cultural, social, and educational conditions on creativity	BENJAMIN S. BLOOM
Basic traits in intellectual performances	J. P. GUILFORD
The development of a criterion of scientific competence	LINDSEY R. HARMON
Early differentiation of interests	ANNE ROE
The definition and measurement of ingenuity	JOHN C. FLANAGAN
The needs for order and disorder as motives in creative activity	FRANK BARRON
The measurement of creativity in machine design	WILLIAM A. OWENS

Ultimate criteria for two levels of creativity	BREWSTER GHISELIN
Scientific creativity	HENRY EYRING
A conceptual model for integrating four approaches to the identification of creative talent	ROSS L. MOONEY
Recent creativity studies at Educational Testing Service	JOHN R. HILLS
Working procedures of creative scientists	MYRON S. ALLEN
Creativity and/or success: A study in value conflict	MORRIS I. STEIN, SHIRLEY J. HEINZE, and ROBERT R. RODGERS
Conditions committee report	BENJAMIN S. BLOOM
Predictor committee report	FRANK BARRON and ANNE ROE
Criterion committee report	ROBERT LACKLEN and LINDSEY R. HARMON

The predictor subgroup reported on four broad areas in which existing or new tests were needed. These were: (a) intellectual aptitudes; (b) temperament; (c) motivation, drives, and values; and (d) life history information. In the intellectual aptitude areas several types of tests were suggested, some of the divergent thinking type, some of the convergent thinking type, a few of the cognitive and evaluative types, as well as other tests of a more global aptitude type or more achievement in nature. In the domain of temperament several variables appear promising to date such as stability-instability, impulse-expression vs. impulse-suppression, socialization-asocialization, independence-conformity, energy-lethargy, extroversion-introversion, dominance-submission, complexity-simplicity, and esthetic vs. practical orientation. Several variables in the motivation area were listed, such as inquiringness of mind, intellectual persistence, need for complex order, tolerance for ambiguity, need for recognition for achievement, need for mastery of the problem, need for variety, resistance to premature closure combined with a strong need for closure, need for autonomy, cosmic involvement, and insatiability for the activity of intellectual ordering. In the life history area an outline of topics in which biographical items might be built was discussed. (Since then, a considerable number of biographical items have been built and exchanged by certain participants, who have developed their own biographical forms.)

The criterion subgroup made considerable progress by building upon the 1955 criterion report. Perhaps the most outstanding new formulation is Ghiselin's suggestion that the measure of a creative product should be "the extent to which it restructures our universe of understanding." Closely related is Lacklen's definition that the creativity of a contribution may be measured in terms of the extent of the area of science which it underlies. The more basic a contribution, the

wider its effects. These two definitions are very nearly equivalent in meaning, since the incorporation of a basic contribution will require a more extensive restructuring. Many cautions were listed about control measures that might be used in criterion studies. Many other suggestions for criterion studies were presented including the statement of eight well-developed hypotheses together with a procedure for testing each of these hypotheses pertaining to specific aspects of the crucial criterion problem.

A third subgroup worked on conditions affecting creativity. However, they felt they had been unable to cover this large and relatively unexplored subtopic on conditions adequately enough to make a formal written report.

Several issues arose as the research reports were presented. For example, academic grades in one study correlated zero with official ratings of overall success of scientists on the job in a large research laboratory, whereas in another study academic grades showed more promise against criterion data collected for research purposes only. Other negative results raised some serious questions as to whether the criterion, the predictors, or both were at fault, or whether the most appropriate method of analysis was overlooked so that crucial elements in the data were not properly processed to demonstrate their value.

The negative and the controversial results were somewhat in line with initial expectations, prior to the conferences, both about the complexity of the unsolved problems and about the strong suspicion that current, widely used measures of intelligence and academic ability were not very good measures of creativity. If either traditional intelligence tests or academic grades were adequate measures of creativity, there would be no problem. Or, if the sheer accumulation of information were a sufficient guarantee that the full creative process would occur, the problem would be largely solved. Yet there is abundant evidence that creativity is too rare, a fact which leads to the conclusion that accumulators of old information are not necessarily creators of new things. In face of the evidence, there still is indeed a very large problem of comprehending and identifying creative potential. It is believed by some that, if we err, it should be on the side of overemphasizing the difference between academic ability and creative potential rather than discounting or ignoring any difference that may actually exist.

In my opinion, the appearance of the Sputniks unequivocally showed both the advisability of expanded efforts on the conference topic and the fact that the efforts to date started none too soon. In recent years a growing number of persons have started to work in this area, in contrast with the past when, with few

exceptions, the problem had been largely postponed for future generations to study scientifically. Already many different handles have been found for initiating research on some part of the difficult topic, some controversial issues have begun to emerge sharply, and some leads are evolving which appear to be quite promising. In other words, some real scratches are being made through the surface of this complex and vital problem. One person, possibly the most openly critical at the 1957 conference, summarized his feelings by saying that tremendous progress had occurred during the two-year period between the conferences.

The conference reports and recommendations are continually proving to be valuable in our current study of the characteristics of productive and creative scientists in Air Force laboratories. The reports have also been instrumental locally in the initiation of a new psychology course in creativity.

Since creative talent underlies science, especially in its progress at its frontiers, and since the rate of scientific progress underlies the military strength of the nation, it seems that administrators over any programs that identify, develop, or utilize scientists should not dare to view this topic lightly and should leave "no stone unturned" in utilizing the latest scientific findings on the nature of creativity. In my opinion, they should also be eager to facilitate further research leading to a greater understanding of creativity and to more sound bases for their decisions and operational programs. Such efforts would not only enable the potentially creative person to realize and develop his abilities in scientific fields, but could also be powerful forerunners to greater understanding of creativity in other areas and to greater utilization of creativity in all fields in our society. A multiplicity of hypotheses and problems needing research certainly emerged throughout both conferences. It is hoped that concurrent attacks on problems of creativity will be undertaken by researchers in industry, government, universities, and school systems.

It seemed wise to make available to participants, and also to as wide an audience as might be interested, the essential ideas expressed in the reports and discussion during the conference. Fearing that some of the truly best ideas might have a tendency to be seen as strange and not worthy of retention, it was decided to avoid possible biases of reporting by publishing, practically verbatim, total reports of each conference. It is also hoped that the spirit of search so fully displayed in the conferences, as well as the best findings to date plus the occasional tentativeness of early thinking on certain subtopics, have been adequately communicated to the reader. The complete reports of both the 1955 and the 1957 conferences are published by the University of Utah Press.

Psychology in the News

Psychology's Steak in TV . . .

That "parlor game" which consists essentially of giving your friends fake Rorschachs still appears in the stores, and APA occasionally hears from a member who thinks we ought to be able to do something about it. When the game first appeared, APA spokesmen communicated with the firm which distributes it and received the reasonable if incomplete answer that the businessmen agreed it was not the best idea in the world, but that they shrank from censoring games and that there is no law preventing people from examining other people's personalities—even if they are just doing it for fun.

Even further on the light side: a steak house chain on the East Coast has been using a TV commercial in which a bespectacled clinician is showing inkblots to a respondent who keeps intoning "Steaks . . . steaks . . . steaks." This is a cleaned up and commercialized version of an old story; and, since the man with the glasses is not identified as for real, but is definitely part of a gag, we believe any complaint should be settled out of court.

Preferably over a couple of steaks. Steaks. Steaks.

Psychologists, Go Home! (Part I) . . .

A well known industrial psychologist, familiar with the groves of academe and the long green valleys of business, claims that "professors tend to be paranoid." He believes this is occupational and that exaggerated feelings of persecution are found in many disciplines—and specifically found in psychology departments. According to him, if the bulletin board in the university post office carries some notice restricting parking privileges, each discipline is liable to see in this some fancied machinations by some other university department.

Still in all, still in all . . . psychologists not only make friends, psychologists make enemies; and some of them are rich and powerful, as a paranoid might say. And many of those hostile to psychology are strange and wonderful.

In a journal called *Packaging Parade*, redundantly subtitled "The News of Packaging," we find the arresting slogan we have borrowed above: "Psychologists, Go Home!" Beneath it, there is a stirring editorial beginning: "It was a sorry day that

the psychologists found out about the \$15 billion packing industry." It continues:

Once upon a time it was possible to come up with a new product like Rinso or Coca Cola or Camel cigarettes, put the stuff in what seemed like a good-looking package, and get the product on the market . . . you didn't have to worry about *ego-involvement*, *perceptual thresholds* and the rest of the gobbledygook that these psychologists like to dish out. This is not to say that there is any lack of truth in the statements made by these psychologists. . . . There is plenty of truth in their observations. . . .

And at that point Chris Fitzgerald, Editor of *PP*, steps firmly on an old and always tender corn. He claims:

. . . if you decipher the language, you probably will see that they are telling you what you knew already.

His concluding thought has to do with tooth-and-nail fights among psychologists:

With all the incessant bickering among psychologists over methods and terminology, they will probably cancel each other out eventually. Therein lies hope.

But we believe just the opposite. These truth-and-nail fights within psychology, on the contrary, keep psychology alive. As the packagers might put it, these are the claws that refresh us.

Psychologists, Go Home! (Part II) . . .

The above does not answer the real challenge.

If a psychologist went home, where would he go? Psychologists are in the lab, the classroom, the clinic, the airplane, and the space rocket. A psychologist may run a radio-television network, or try to stop a child from biting his nails, or manage the Smithsonian. Sometimes one thinks not a sparrow falls but the poor bird's last cries are recorded both for acoustics and substantive content, and an Air Force psychologist is watching the effects of accelerating velocity upon respiration.

Where is a psychologist *not* at home?

If home is a package for human beings, perhaps it is in your province, too, Mr. Packaging Parade; but if you were to start to define what home is, you would be liable to find yourself either in hot water or in instant psychology.

Of Society and Illness . . .

Marion K. Saunders some time ago blew up a storm with a magazine article called "Social Work:

A Profession Chasing Its Tail." In that article the discussion of the language "social workese" came uncomfortably close to home (wherever home may be). Now (in *Harper's* for December 1958) there is another Saunders article, mainly on fund raising for research in medical fields. In "Mutiny on the Bountiful," it is shown that dynamic fund raisers bring in as much money for the Muscular Dystrophy Association (for a disease affecting 150,000 persons) as is brought in for nine million mentally ill, or for the ten million cases of arthritis and rheumatism.

It all reminds us of the fetching absent minded statement a sweet young thing in graduate school was musing out loud one day: "When you think of what FDR's polio did for that disease . . . and what President Eisenhower's attacks have done for heart disease . . . what this country really needs is for a President to have a severe mental illness."

Mad Actors? Mad Masters? . . .

There should be and there is a magazine called *State of Mind*, and it is outwardly attractive, although state minded lovers of color photography may safely stick to *Arizona Highways*. The one called *S of M*

is published by CIBA for physicians who are interested in the emotional and psychiatric aspects of medicine. The views expressed . . . reflect authoritative, professional opinion. They are not necessarily the views of CIBA, nor are they influenced by the commercial interests of CIBA.

The above we offer as word-salad for some semanticist's smorgasbord. It reminds us implicitly that some physicians are *not* interested in emotional aspects of medicine. But let us look over the shoulder of some physician who *is*, and read further. The choice item is found in an article called "Movies and Madness" attributed to "a leading psychiatrist who has made a study of the emotional problems of the stars."

The emotional problems of Hollywood stars are as bad as they are commonly pictured. They are, in fact, worse . . . three-quarters of the Hollywood acting population is either insane, just getting over being insane or about to go insane.

This is as close as the article gets to giving figures or, indeed, evidence. The whole piece is based on the authority of "the leading psychiatrist," and he remains unknown. No name whatever is attached to the article. A footnote says only "Based on an interview." But the interviewer also is un-

identified. When the masthead of this interesting *State of Mind* says "authoritative, professional opinion," it might well add "and sometimes *Top Secret*." A new twist.

This is *not* an invitation for any actor, however many analysts he may have had, to write in anonymously to us *his* conclusions: "In my experience *X* fraction of the psychiatric profession is about to go insane . . ." This kind of thing has got to stop somewhere.

However, one's imagination continues to play, and since it does not seem required of contributors that they establish a full and true name with CIBA, perhaps someone could retain one of the better actors, like Raymond Massey, to *pretend* to be "a leading psychiatrist" and call upon the CIBA editors with a retaliatory article.

"The Method" is not the only method with madness in it, as Shakespeare or Tennessee Williams or somebody must have said.

Attic Philosophy . . .

The *American Weekly*, a newspaper supplement which has changed considerably since it was known as *Hearst's American Weekly*, had published a dramatic story about a psychological "treasure" found in an attic. As the *Weekly* describes it, William A. Owens, Jr. found the treasure in the unused top floor of a building at Iowa State College, where he is department head. What he found was a set of 179 freshmen scores achieved on an intelligence test in 1919.

Owens used this as a take-off point to look into the subject of changes in the test scores of individuals over long periods of time. He tracked down 127 of the ex-students whose scores were represented and gave them the same test over again. His basic conclusion was that the capacities the test measured improved with age.

Other psychologists are mentioned: Nancy Bayley, Melita M. Oden, Harold E. Jones, Irving Lodge, Robert W. Kleemeier . . .

The slogan headline on the article was, *Your Mind Improves with Age*. Old-timers may sigh wistfully for the days when the *American Weekly* ran red-blooded articles like *Can Your Sex Be Changed?* or *The Curse of King Tut's Tomb Lingers on in This English Manor House*.

Age changes men and magazines; that would seem to be a modest conclusion.

—MICHAEL AMRINE

Psychology in the States

In Memoriam

Yes, Virginia, there *is* a Santa Claus. Yes, APA, there was a CSPA, and one gracious enough to bequeath to its parent body the funds remaining in its treasury at the time of its demise.

In his capacity as Secretary-Treasurer of the erstwhile Conference of State Psychological Associations, George S. Speer has recently sent to APA a check in the amount of \$5,635.38. The action was taken in accordance with the wishes of the conference delegates who, at the final business meeting of CSPA, had so voted.

The feeling of the association is expressed in the following excerpt from the proceedings of the 1958 APA Business Meeting (Item IX W):

The Board of Professional Affairs recommended, the Board of Directors concurred, and the Council of Representatives voted to accept with deep appreciation the funds which CSPA has offered to contribute to APA for use in connection with state association affairs.

* * *

The Scientist and the State Association. At CSPA's final business meeting, considerable attention was paid to the Board of Professional Affairs and its plans for integrating state association concerns with those of APA generally. In the course of discussion, delegates expressed the further hope that state associations might likewise benefit from the wisdom of the Board of Scientific Affairs.

The following letter, recently sent to state association officers by Dorwin Cartwright, Chairman of BSA, is both unsolicited and to the point:

When the Board of Scientific Affairs was established about a year ago, the Council of APA specified that BSA "shall have general concern for all aspects of psychology as a science, including the continued encouragement, development, and promotion of psychology as a science, and with psychology's relations with other scientific bodies."

At our last meeting we discussed the various ways in which BSA might implement these responsibilities. It seemed to us that the State Associations have a particularly good opportunity to exert an influence upon the development of scientific psychology in this country during the coming years. Patterns of operation have not yet become rigid, and there would seem to be room for innovation and creative experimentation.

We should be pleased to hear from you concerning those activities of your association which are specifically con-

cerned with scientific matters. It would appear to be important, both for planning future policies in APA and for creating a realistic image of the State Associations among psychologists, to have a compilation of the various activities of the Associations concerned explicitly with scientific aspects of psychology.

If you could send a report of such activities to me before our next meeting early in May, it would greatly help the work of BSA. Other members of BSA are: Judson S. Brown, Paul M. Fitts, Calvin S. Hall, Lyle V. Jones, and Donald B. Linsley.

* * *

Legislation—Pros and Cons, Questions and Answers, Ways and Means. Three psychologists who have been heavily involved in the profession's legislative struggles spoke their minds at the last APA convention during a symposium on the pros and cons of legislation. The meeting was sponsored jointly by the retiring Conference of State Psychological Associations and the newborn APA Board of Professional Affairs. As summarized by Frank Auld, Jr., Co-Chairman of the former CSPA Committee on Legislation, following were the respective positions taken.

George S. Speer argued strongly for legislative regulation of psychological practice. In his opinion, none of the laws so far enacted in the various states provides effective control of the functions or activities of psychological practitioners. We should, Speer believes, press for laws that *do* effectively control *function* rather than simply title. Opposition to effective legislation is bound to come from marginally-trained persons within the profession, from persons in allied professions feeling a threat of rivalry, and from outright quacks, Speer pointed out.

Albert S. Thompson laid stress on the inevitable blend of benefits and perils in any legislation. A law regulating psychology brings recognition to the profession, but restrictions necessarily accompany the benefits. A law confers status on the profession while at the same time entailing responsibilities. A law tends to clarify the functions of the psychologist, but by the same token may well threaten other professions. Yet, despite the hazards of legislation, Thompson felt, it constitutes the only effective way of controlling psychological practice. Nonlegal

methods of control, by themselves, simply cannot do the entire job. "Fringe benefits" of legislation, Thompson pointed out, include certain tax advantages, the attraction of better persons to the profession, and the strengthening of the profession against attacks from other professions. Thus, on the whole, he felt, legislation is advantageous to the profession.

John G. Darley reported some "disenchantment" with legislation. For one thing, it costs a great deal—in money as well as in energy—both to get, and to defend after it has been gotten. Too, it brings with it restrictions on individual freedom, just as any aspect of increasing professionalization does. In Darley's view, increased professionalization is an inevitable development, and legal regulation is bound to come along with such professionalization. Nevertheless, he concluded, psychologists should not plunge too fast into new legislative ventures; legislation should be sought only when careful appraisal of the situation shows that the effort is timely, advantageous, and consonant with APA standards and objectives.

Questions and Answers. Under the chairmanship of Harry Levinson, the Kansas Psychological Association Committee on Standards and Ethics has drawn up a list of what might well be the 16 most commonly asked questions concerning certification bills and their reasons for being. The queries run the gamut from ambivalence about grandfather clauses to concern with supervision by psychiatrists; the answers are direct and uncomplicated. Typical of the exchanges is the following.

Question: Why should there be a certification law now, since no flagrant abuses have been publicized?

Answer: The fact that there are no conspicuous abuses that demand attention now makes it an ideal time to institute social and legal controls in a calm atmosphere and with the cooperation of other professional groups who would have an interest in such regulation. A second factor is that while nearly all the practice of psychology in Kansas is institutional, or in collaborative groups with medical practitioners, and relations with physicians and other professions are excellent, there is nothing in the law to prevent anyone from coming into the state, calling himself a psychologist, and practicing as he pleases. With certification and licensing laws on the books in 14 other states, persons in those other states who are not sufficiently qualified to continue practicing in them will tend to move into states which are unprotected by law.

Ways and Means. All of the foregoing is in line with APA's reminder that legislation is not an

unmixed blessing and needs to be carefully pondered rather than abruptly sought. Once the decision to press for legislation has been democratically taken, however, a host of chores needs doing. The Michigan Psychological Association reminds us of some of them in a recent seven-point program of action. As seen by MPA, the following are roles that want to be filled: (a) contact (preferably personal) with legislators by way of briefing them about the proposed bill and its purposes; (b) mention of the bill in the course of public talks; (c) tabulation of the inadequately trained practitioners offering services in the state; (d) liaison with local physicians; (e) enlistment of support from the lay public, especially the groups concerned with raising and safeguarding standards of service; (f) briefing within the profession regarding issues at stake and areas of disagreement; (g) solicitation of constructive suggestions.

* * *

Relations with Sociology. Continuing the collaboration begun last year, the BPA Committee on Relations with Sociology met with its fellow-committee of the American Sociological Association on October 24, 1958. The earlier meeting had presented an opportunity for sharing perceptions of how legislation governing psychologists affects or does not affect sociologists; the recent meeting took it from there. A series of proposals, developed jointly by the committees, has since been submitted to BPA and will be considered by its Committee on Legislation at the latter's forthcoming meeting.

Legislative Reporting Service. In her capacity as Legislative Consultant at APA Central Office, Jane D. Hildreth has furnished state association legislative chairmen with the following description of the Legislative Reporting Service, a publication of the Commerce Clearing House, to which APA has subscribed for a two-year period.

The service provides complete membership rosters of both houses (of the state legislature) and of committees, governors' messages, and information on all bills introduced in the following categories (covered in the APA contract): regulation of the practice of psychology; basic sciences; medical practice; regulation of any specialties in the psychology field, including psychiatry and any others professing to assist the mentally or emotionally disturbed. The screening by the service is not by title alone, but by examination of the bill itself. The first information comes in the form of an "intro" sheet,

on which appears the title of the bill, the name of its framer, the house in which introduced, and the committee to which referred. A copy of the bill follows within a few days. As legislative action proceeds, Central Office receives daily reports on the course of the bill, together with copies of any amendments which may have been introduced and, if eventually approved by the governor, a law copy of the final bill as signed. The usual lag for all information and/or materials is from three to five days; a report of the final disposition of all bills introduced is received about ten days after adjournment.

* * *

Synchronization. In an effort to make its own organizational timetable accord with that of APA, the Council of the Connecticut State Psychological Society has proposed amendments to its constitution with reference to the election and installation of officers.

Experience had shown that assumption of office in midwinter resulted in a late start in spring and an all-too-early summer hiatus. With elections announced in spring (as now proposed) and formal installation into office in September, the hope is that officers and committeemen would have gotten off to a running start in the interim.

Psychologists and Jury Duty. The New York State Psychological Association plans again to introduce into the state legislature a bill which would, on a voluntary basis, exempt psychologists from jury duty. In a succinct statement of the problem, Edward Joseph Shoben, Jr. has summarized the issues for NYSPA members. The tenor of Shoben's remarks is as follows.

The nature of psychologists' work frequently makes an interruption of their services for an indeterminate time costly in human terms. Clinical work offers the most obvious example. However, the welfare of others may be similarly affected in educational situations, where the psychologist may be consulting, or in research programs, where disruption of the study may deny to the general fund of knowledge some findings of immediate or long-term significance.

The intent of the proposed bill would be neither

to disqualify psychologists for jury duty nor to imply any desire to abrogate their responsibilities as citizens. Rather, the belief is that voluntary exemption would redound to the good of clients specifically and the public interest generally.

Actually, as Shoben points out, the incidence of psychologists serving as jurors might not be significantly affected, should such a bill pass. Psychologists, like most professional and unusually well-educated persons, tend not to get accepted on juries from panels of veniremen. And abuses of the voluntary exemption privilege would, it is felt, be quite improbable.

In any case, Shoben emphasizes, full discussion of the proposed measure is highly desirable. Questions or comments should be sent to the NYSPA Executive Secretary: Samuel Pearlman; One Hanson Place; Brooklyn 17, New York.

Something for Every Taste. The program of the January 9-10, 1959 meeting of the Oregon Psychological Association represents a painstaking attempt to satisfy the needs of members of every persuasion. The first day's session, held in the Museum of Science and Industry, fittingly stressed animal research, with the evening banquet speech entitled "Owls and Children." Workshop sessions of the second day, held at Portland State College, were preceded by a glance backward ("Reminiscences of Wundt and Leipzig") and a look ahead ("The Future Development of Psychology in Oregon"). The workshops themselves then proceeded to wrestle with some very contemporary problems: the implications of the National Defense Education Act for psychologists and counselors; the kinds of professional, consultative, and voluntary psychological services which need to be offered to the public; programs of public information and education; implications of the proposed certification bill. By way of effecting closure, the meeting ended with a report on the recent Miami conference on graduate training in psychology.

—J. G. DARLEY

Chairman,
Board of Professional Affairs

E. L. HOCH

Administrative Officer,
State and Professional Affairs

Notes and News

The American Board for Psychological Services has made the following change in its regulations: The fee for evaluation and listing in the 1959 *Directory of American Psychological Services* is reduced to \$50 for Diplomates of ABEPP who are in private practice, or for agencies in which the chief or supervising psychologist is a Diplomate or which have been approved by such bodies as the APA Evaluation & Training Board or AAPCC or similar bodies whose standards of evaluation are satisfactory to ABPS. The evaluation fee for others remains at \$100.

It is expected that the *Directory* for 1959-60 will be a much larger and more representative listing of psychologists and agencies giving services in the areas of clinical, industrial, counseling, school psychology, and research programs. The deadline for application for inclusion in this *Directory* is March 15, 1959. All applications and correspondence should be addressed to: Karl F. Heiser, President; American Board for Psychological Services; Glendale, Ohio.

The American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology, Inc., on November 14, 1958, administered its tenth written examination to 108 candidates at 47 examining centers. ABEPP wishes to express its appreciation to the following Diplomates who served as proctors:

Roy N. Anderson
Gertrude Baker
Josephine Ball
Bernard M. Bass
Ralph F. Berdie
Virginia Lee Block
A. Jean Brown
Emily T. Burr
Aaron H. Canter
Linda L. Carter
Loretta Cass
William L. Dealey
Paul R. Dingman
Donald W. Dysinger
Sibylle K. Escalona
George L. Fahey
Daniel D. Feder
Mary E. Ford
Morris Goodman

Nathan Greenbaum
Rhea R. Hilkevitch
Milton J. Horowitz
Theodore C. Kahn
William L. Kell
Virginia Kirk
Leo Lieberman
Ida Linnick
Lester Luborsky
Elizabeth D. McDowell
Laurence S. McGaughran
Barclay Martin
Horace A. Page
Ruth M. Patterson
Leslie Phillips
Egan A. Ringwall
Gerald Rosenbaum
David Shapiro
Helena H. Shea

Burke M. Smith
Felman B. Sorsby
George D. Spache
Harry L. Stein

Hazel H. Stevens
Clifford H. Swensen, Jr.
Frances O. Triggs
John G. Watkins

James Joyce, of Coe College, represented the APA at the inauguration of Joseph E. McCabe as President of Coe College on December 5, 1958.

James H. Russell, of Rollins College, represented the APA at the inauguration of David Marion Delo as President of the University of Tampa on December 13, 1958.

Hudson James Bond, of the System Development Corporation, Santa Monica, California, died December 2, 1958.

Alan Glynn, of St. Bonaventure University, died in 1958.

Frances E. Lowell, of Tiverton, Rhode Island, died May 23, 1958.

Karl F. Muenzinger, Professor Emeritus of the University of Colorado, died November 23, 1958.

Sarah M. Ritter, of Deland, Florida, died July 19, 1958.

Willis C. Driscoll has become Director of Research at the Columbus Psychiatric Clinic. Alvin Scodel and Edwin Barker, of Ohio State University, are research consultants to the clinic.

Richard Covault resigned from the Downey VA Hospital to accept the position of Clinical Psychologist, Ventura County Mental Health Clinic, Ventura, California.

Edwin A. Fleishman has accepted appointment as an Associate Editor for *Psychological Reports* and *Perceptual and Motor Skills*.

The Los Angeles Psychological Service Center announces the addition to the staff of Albert V. Freeman.

Stanford Green has been appointed Director of Psychological Services in the Child Guidance Clinic of the Hollywood Presbyterian Hospital, Los Angeles.

Edward J. Hovorka, formerly at Tulane University, has accepted an appointment as Associate Professor of Psychology at Denison University.

Noël Jenkin, formerly at the Vineland Training School, has joined the staff of the Department of Psychology at the University of Sydney, Australia.

The Long Island Consultation Center, Forest Hills, New York, announces that **Ira B. Keisman** has been appointed Coordinator of the newly formed Interne Training Program in Clinical Psychology.

New appointees to the staff of the Department of Psychology at Dartmouth College are: **Wolfgang Köhler** as Visiting Research Professor and **William M. Smith**, formerly at Princeton University, as Associate Professor.

Lyle H. Lanier has accepted the deanship of the College of Arts and Science at the University of Illinois.

Mildred B. Mitchell transferred from the Dayton VA Center to the Stress and Fatigue Section, Biophysics Branch, Aero Medical Laboratory, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. She is also Consultant and Member of the Board of Directors of the Serenity Foundation, Inc., Dayton, Ohio.

Irvin S. Wolf has become Editor and **Paul T. Mountjoy** the Managing Editor of the *Psychological Record* whose editorial offices are now at Denison University.

The Department of Psychology at the University of Colorado has established a \$50 annual **Karl Muenzinger** Award to the outstanding senior psychology major. Those who would like to contribute to this fund may send their donations to: Development Foundation; University Memorial Center, University of Colorado; Boulder, Colorado. They should be marked explicitly for this purpose.

Norman M. Paris has been appointed Director of the University of Cincinnati Testing and Counseling Center.

Milton M. Schwartz has become Chairman and **William F. Reynolds** has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychology at Rutgers University.

Rohrer, Hibler & Replogle announces the appointment of **Owen L. Caskey** to the staff of their

Dallas office, **Woodrow W. Reed** to the Chicago office, and **William C. Stevens** to the Cleveland office.

Edwin Sanford has resigned from Rohrer, Hibler & Replogle to enter private practice in Los Angeles, California, as psychological counsel to management.

Jerome M. Schneck was awarded the Gold Medal of the Society for Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis "for the most outstanding contribution to the development of scientific hypnosis."

Marvin Schwartz, formerly at the United States Naval School of Aviation Medicine, has accepted the position of Research Associate in the Department of Psychiatry at the State University of Iowa.

John P. Seward, of the University of California, Los Angeles, has been added to the Board of Consulting Editors of the *Psychological Newsletter*.

George R. Soika has resigned from the Independence Mental Health Institute to take a position as Associate Professor and Clinical Psychologist at Wisconsin State College.

Kenneth S. Teel, formerly with the Douglas Aircraft Company, is now in the Autonetics Division of North American Aviation, Inc. in Downey, California.

The Department of Psychology of the University of Oregon announces the following:

Fred Attneave, formerly at the University of California and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, has been appointed Associate Professor.

Frederick Fosmire, formerly at the Sheridan VA Administration Hospital, has been appointed Associate Professor.

Raymond Miles, from Montana State College, has accepted an interim appointment to replace **Richard Littman**, who is presently on a year's leave of absence at the National Institute of Mental Health.

Roy Buehler has been appointed Coordinator of Training and Chairman of the Clinical Training Committee.

Gerald Patterson has been appointed Chairman of the School Psychologist Training Program.

Leona Tyler, Chairman of the Counseling Training Committee, has returned from a year's leave of absence at the University of California.

The following personnel changes have occurred in Psychology Services, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration:

Edward S. Butler, a graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, University of Buffalo, has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Center, Togus, Maine.

Vito R. Buzzotta has resigned from the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri.

Sebastian Cabrer, a graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, Purdue University, has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Center, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Donald P. Cliggett, a former graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, New York University, has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, New York, New York.

Joseph G. Dawson has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Augusta, Georgia.

Dorothy A. Feldman has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Leech Farm Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Earl X. Freed has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Lyons, New Jersey.

Robert M. Gerard, a former graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, University of California, Los Angeles, has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Center, Los Angeles, California.

Robert Gunn has transferred from the Dearborn VA Hospital to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Sepulveda, California.

Robert W. Halliday has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Paul R. Haskin has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Fort Lyon, Colorado.

Erasmus L. Hoch, who has been on leave with the APA, has resigned from the Psychology Service, VA Center, Togus, Maine.

Carl F. Jesness has resigned from the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Fort Meade, South Dakota.

Solomon D. Kaplan has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Kansas City, Missouri.

Hugh B. Kohn, a postdoctoral graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, Stanford University, has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Palo Alto, California.

Martin Lakin has resigned from the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital (Research), Chicago, Illinois.

William W. Lothrop, a graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, University of Tennessee, has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Salisbury, North Carolina.

Reid I. Martin, a graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, University of Chicago, has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital (West Side), Chicago, Illinois.

Russell E. Mason has transferred from the Brockton VA Hospital to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Palo Alto, California.

Andrew Mathis has resigned from the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital (Research), Chicago, Illinois.

Shirley L. Miller has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Constance B. Nelson, a postdoctoral graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, Washington University, has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Kansas City, Missouri.

Henry D. Remple has transferred from the Kansas City VA Mental Hygiene Clinic to the position of Chief, Psychology Service, VA Center, Wadsworth, Kansas.

Joseph J. Silva has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Bedford, Massachusetts.

Colin M. Slade has resigned from the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Portland, Oregon.

William C. Stevens has resigned from the Psychology Service, VA Center, Dayton, Ohio.

Edwin O. Timmons, a graduate of the VA Psychology Training Program, University of Tennessee, has been appointed to the Psychology Service, VA Hospital, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Morton I. Weiser has been appointed to the Psychology Staff, VA Hospital, Albany, New York.

Shelby L. Walch has been appointed Postdoctoral Fellow in Clinical Psychology in the Psychological Laboratories of the Norwich State Hospital.

Joachim F. Wohlwill has joined the staff of the Department of Psychology at Clark University as Assistant Professor and Director of the recently inaugurated graduate training program in the Institute of Human Development.

Sturm & O'Brien announce the appointment of **Virginia Zachert** as Director of the Division of Mathematics and Data Processing.

Grants-in-aid for scientific research are available from several endowment funds held for this purpose by the **American Academy of Arts and Sciences**. Work in any field that may properly be called scientific is eligible for this support, including the mathematical and physical, the biological, and the social sciences. Although grants-in-aid normally do not exceed \$1,500, requests for substantially larger amounts for especially meritorious projects would be considered. Applications must be filed in duplicate on forms obtainable on request. Address communications to: Chairman, Committees on Research Funds, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; 280 Newton Street; Brookline 46, Massachusetts.

The **Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund** will consider applications for postdoctoral fellowships in the fields of child development, pediatrics, and social welfare. The amount of each fellowship will be \$6,000 per year. Applicants must have completed all requirements for the PhD or the MD degree at the time of application and be citizens of the United States. Preference will be given to ap-

plicants under 38 years of age. No special application forms are needed. Applicants should submit the following in triplicate: a full statement of the research proposal and its contribution to the applicant's training, a list of previous publications, and pertinent biographical data. References should include faculty members under whose direction the applicant has conducted previous research. A one-page abstract of the proposal must also be included. For consideration in 1959, applications must be received before April 1. Address inquiries to: Donald Brieland; Executive Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund; 155 East Ohio Street; Chicago 11, Illinois.

The **Kenneth Craik Research Award** has been established for the assistance of persons engaged in postgraduate research, preferably in physiological psychology. The award is administered by the College Council of St. John's College, University of Cambridge, England. Persons of either sex and of any academical standing are eligible. The person to whom the award is made need not be and shall not be required to become a member of the college and need not reside in the university. The value of the award will be £450 a year. Applications should be sent to: The Master, St. John's College, Cambridge, England, so as to reach him not later than 14 March 1959, accompanied by full particulars of the applicant, a statement of the nature and probable duration of the postgraduate research contemplated and of the place where it is intended to pursue it, particulars of any further financial assistance the applicant expects to receive, and the names and addresses of not more than three persons to whom the council, if they wish, may refer.

Training in community mental health for psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers is offered by the **Massachusetts General Hospital**, teaching hospital of the Harvard Medical School. Training and experience areas are those of mental health and community research, preventive intervention and special clinical services, group methods, consultation, communication and public education, administration, and community organization. First and second year postdoctoral fellowships are offered with USPHS stipends of \$6,000 or \$7,000, respectively. Inquiries should be addressed to: John vonFelsinger, Chief Psychologist; Department of Psychiatry, Massachusetts General Hospital; Boston, Massachusetts.

Two-year postdoctoral fellowships in general clinical psychology and in child psychology are being offered by the **Menninger Foundation** to start September 1959. The program provides supervised experience in diagnostic testing with special reference to treatment planning, an opportunity to do individually supervised psychotherapy, and a special program of seminars and workshops including some courses in the Menninger School of Psychiatry. The fellowships provide a USPHS stipend of \$6,000 for the first year and \$7,000 the second year; \$3,600 of the annual stipend is tax exempt. An applicant must have a PhD in clinical psychology with a minimum of one year of supervised clinical experience and must be a citizen of the United States. For information or application forms, write to: Martin Mayman, Director of Psychological Training; The Menninger Foundation; Topeka, Kansas.

The **Bulova Watch Company Foundation** has established a fellowship in rehabilitation at **Teachers College, Columbia University** to give financial assistance to full-time students interested in a career as a rehabilitation counselor or psychologist. In addition, Teachers College also has available other traineeships in rehabilitation counseling, supported by the United States Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. Information concerning both programs is available from: Abraham Jacobs; Teachers College, Columbia University; New York 27, New York.

Walter A. Woods and George H. Lawrence, of Nowland and Company, Greenwich, Connecticut, have initiated a study of the **buyer's personality and characteristics** which affect his purchase of various brands.

The **National Science Foundation** awarded, for the fiscal year 1959, Senior Faculty Fellowships to Lenin A. Baler, Eugene H. Eisman, and Stanley C. Ratner and a Senior Postdoctoral Fellowship to John C. Webster.

A grant has been made to the University of Illinois for a two-year study, under the direction of J. Thomas Hastings, of ways in which teachers and counselors in Illinois high schools can improve their use of **psychological and aptitude test results** in helping students. This project is part of the Co-operative Research Program established by the Congress.

The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has awarded grants to:

Chester C. Bennett, Boston University Graduate School, for study of the effects of reserpine (a tranquilizer) and of mersilid (an energizer) on mood, attitude toward self and surroundings, and learning ability.

Walter Weiss, Boston University School of Public Relations and Communications, to complete a research program on the conditions affecting opinion and attitude change.

A three-year grant has been awarded by the Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, USPHS, to Jerome Cohen, Associate Professor at Northwestern University Medical School, for study of the medical, psychological, and social consequences of severe visual deprivation on the patterns of child growth and development.

The topic of the December 5, 1958 meeting of the Eastern Group Psychotherapy Society (2 East 86 Street; New York 21, New York) was: "A Combination of Principles of Individual and Group Psychotherapy in the Treatment of the Family."

Gordon Derner, Director of Clinical Training, Adelphi College, conducted a two-day **Workshop in Psychotherapy** on October 23-24, 1958 sponsored by the VA Hospital, Knoxville, Iowa.

The Community Guidance Service, Inc. (140 West 58 Street; New York 19, New York) is sponsoring a workshop program, started in February 1959, to provide professional case supervision and consultation for pastoral counselors, probation and parole officers, school guidance counselors, personnel counselors in business and industry, and attorneys dealing with clients' marital or other personal problems.

The theme of the sixth Annual Congress of the Interamerican Society of Psychology in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on August 16-21, 1959 will be "Personality Evaluation and Human Relations." Abstracts (limited to approximately 200 words) of papers to be presented are to be submitted in triplicate to: Samuel Pearlman, Executive Secretary for

North America; One Hanson Place; Brooklyn 17, New York.

The third Tri-Organization Annual Scientific and Clinical Conference of the American Association for Rehabilitation Therapy, the Association for Physical and Mental Rehabilitation, and the Association of Medical Rehabilitation Directors and Coordinators will be held in Miami Beach, Florida, on July 4-11, 1959.

The Los Angeles Society of Clinical Psychologists has begun its second **Postdoctoral Training Institute in Psychotherapy** (January 17-18, March 14-15, and May 16-17, 1959) with the theme "Verbal Communication in Psychotherapy"; the program coordinator is Zoltan Gross (360 North Bedford Drive; Beverly Hills, California).

The Statistics Department of the University of Wyoming and the Statistics Department and Statistical Laboratory of Iowa State College are jointly presenting an eight-week institute for college and university teachers of statistics beginning June 15, 1959. For further information, write to: Edward C. Bryant; Director, Summer Institute in Statistics; University of Wyoming; Laramie, Wyoming.

The University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, announces the initiation of a **PhD program in psychology** for the spring of 1959. Areas of concentration will include clinical, school psychology, research, and teaching of psychology.

The Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis announces the seventh **Annual Karen Horney Lecture** to be given by Leo Kanner on "Centripetal Forces in Personality Development." The meeting will be held on March 25, 1959 at the New York Academy of Medicine (3 East 103 Street).

The Division of Behavioral Science, Department of Neurology and Psychiatry, University of Virginia School of Medicine announces its first **Annual Symposium**, "Experimental Foundations of Clinical Psychology," to be held at Charlottesville, Virginia, on April 1-2, 1959. For further information, write to: Katherine Tiffany, Secretary; Division of Behavioral Science, University of Virginia School of Medicine; Charlottesville, Virginia.

Convention Calendar

American Psychological Association: September 3-9, 1959; Cincinnati, Ohio

For information, write to:

Roderick H. Bare
American Psychological Association
1333 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology: March 27-28, 1959; St. Louis, Missouri

For information, write to:

Wilse B. Webb
Department of Psychology
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Eastern Psychological Association: April 3-4, 1959; Atlantic City, New Jersey

For information, write to:

Carl H. Rush
P. O. Box 252
Glenbrook, Connecticut

Southwestern Psychological Association: April 16-18, 1959; Topeka, Kansas

For information, write to:

Beatrice Cobb
Texas Technological College
Lubbock, Texas

Western Psychological Association: April 16-18, 1959; San Diego, California

For information, write to:

Ivan N. McCollom
San Diego State College
San Diego 15, California

Southeastern Psychological Association: April 23-25, 1959; St. Augustine, Florida

For information, write to:

Susan W. Gray
Box 232
George Peabody College
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Midwestern Psychological Association: May 7-9, 1959; Chicago, Illinois

For information, write to:

I. E. Farber, Secretary-Treasurer
Midwestern Psychological Association
Department of Psychology
State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Rocky Mountain Psychological Association: May 14-17, 1959; Sun Valley, Idaho

For information, write to:

William H. Brown
Department of Psychiatry
University of Utah College of Medicine
156 Westminster Avenue
Salt Lake City 15, Utah

Inter-Society Color Council: April 1, 1959; New York, New York

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